

IN THESE TIMES

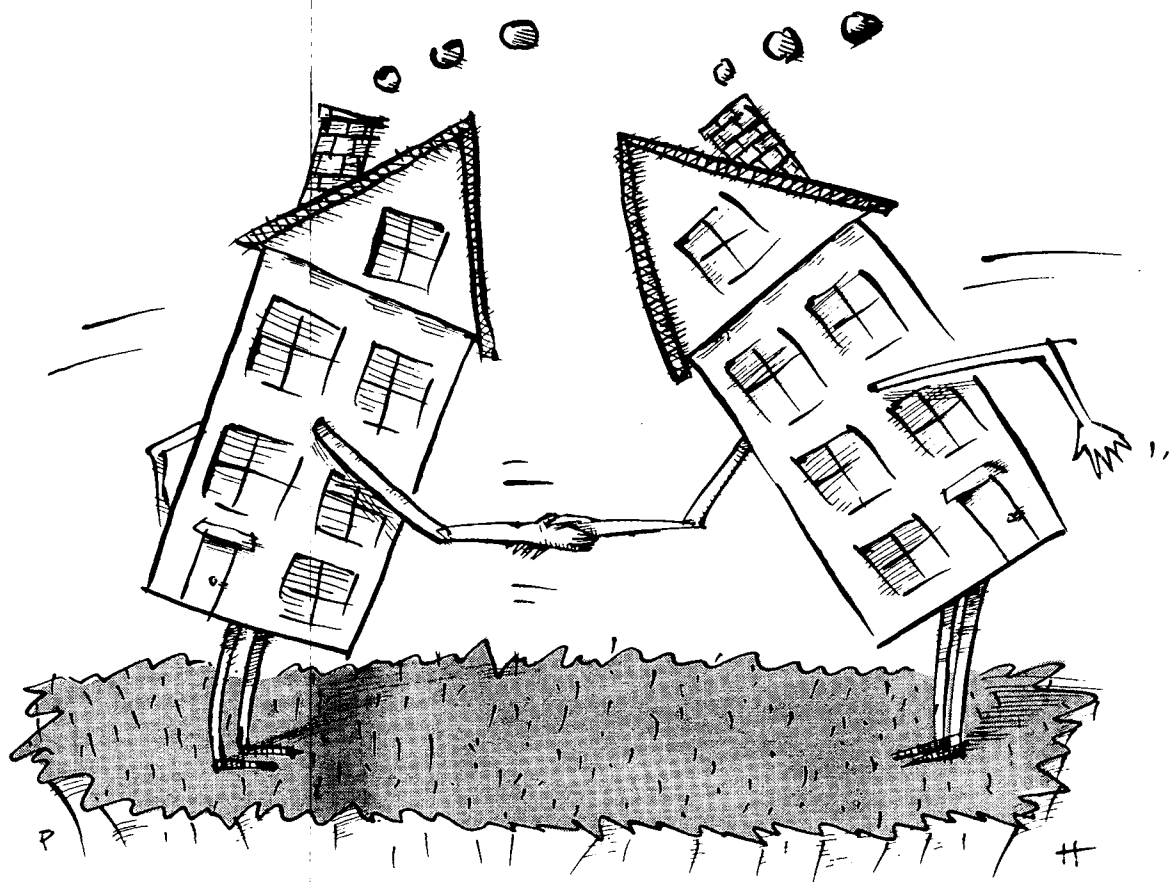
VOL. 12, NO. 31

AUG. 3-16, 1988

\$1.25

NOW WHAT?

A look at
the candidate,
the convention
and the campaign
Coverage starts on page 6



Land trusts offer American land reform

By Jim Naureckas

All across the U.S., housing advocates are trying to bring about a quiet revolution in the way property is looked at. In response to the housing crunch, communities in New York, Atlanta, Minneapolis and dozens of other cities have formed community land trusts as a way to provide permanently affordable housing in gentrifying neighborhoods.

A land trust is not really a trust—it's a non-profit corporation that owns real estate and renovates housing. The land trust sells the housing to individuals, but retains title to the land itself. People with lower incomes can then better afford to buy a home, since the price of the land often accounts for more than a quarter of the price of housing.

The land trust leases the land to the buyer under the condition that when the housing is resold, the new price will not be more than the original sale price, plus the value of any improvements made on the home.

The land trust is designed to avoid the paradox of urban renewal in which improvements to a low-income neighborhood drive real estate values up and eventually

drive the original poor residents out of the community.

According to the Institute for Community Economics (ICE), a group in Massachusetts that serves as a godparent to many land trusts, the concept is based on the idea that a community has an economic interest in private property. "All property is a public-private partnership," says Chuck Matthei, executive director of ICE. The value of a house depends not only on the private costs of building it, but also on the public's investment in neighborhood streets, schools and public services. In ICE's view, if the value of a property increases because the public has put money into improving a neighborhood, that increase should not necessarily go to an individual when the property changes hands.

The idea of community is reflected in the way the land trust is governed: typically, one-third of a land trust's board members will reside in units owned by the trust, while the other two-thirds come from local organizations and the community at large. This setup is intended to make land trusts more stable than ordinary cooperatives, where rising property values give residents an incentive to dissolve the co-op and realize profits.

Predictably, some people have criticized the land trust model for infringing on the free-enterprise right to speculate. Others have questioned the model's focus on ownership, noting that those who need housing most desperately could not afford to buy even a subsidized house.

But land-trust advocates believe that protecting the option of ownership is important to maintaining the stability of a community. They also note that for most people housing is the only feasible form of long-term investment. Many land trusts, in order to broaden the number of people who can participate, provide multi-unit apartment buildings in addition to single-family houses. Residents of those apartments usually own the building cooperatively.

Growing trusts: The community land trust model dates back to the '60s. But recently the movement has gained momentum, with as many trusts being formed in the last two years as in all other years put together. While the approximately 40 land trusts across the country still include less than 1,000 units, development of housing by land trusts is expected to accelerate as state and local governments begin to see the model as an economical solution to a growing housing crisis.

It's well known that rising housing costs and interest rates have made home ownership impossible even for many in the middle class. Less publicized is the developing crisis in low-income housing, where rent restrictions on millions of units subsidized by the federal government in the '60s are now coming to the end of their 15- or 20-year terms.

Yet at the same time that the need for housing assis-

tance is growing, the federal budget deficit makes adequate support for housing almost impossible. "The amount of public money is so much less that people are acutely aware of the need to reuse and recycle what resources are there," says the ICE's Andrew Baker. In the land-trust model, says Matthei, "the investment you make to provide affordable housing is preserved when the housing is transferred from owner to owner."

The land trust model is therefore gaining support from various levels of government. Rep. Joseph Kennedy (D-MA), for instance, has introduced legislation mandating the federal government to spend \$500 million on programs like land trusts that provide long-term affordability.

The state of Vermont has appropriated \$20 million to support land purchases by land trusts and conservation groups, legislation pushed by a surprising alliance between housing and environmental advocates. Many municipal governments have also played active roles in forming or supporting land trusts.

Land trusts are exactly the sort of public-private partnerships that presidential candidate Michael Dukakis says he favors. While he has not endorsed land trusts as a specific federal solution to the housing crisis, the governor's Executive Office of Communities and Development has been an important help to developing land trusts in Massachusetts, which has more of the trusts than any other state.

Across the country even some business groups have lent their support to the land-trust idea. The housing crisis has become so serious, Baker says, that "anyone who comes forward with a fiscally conservative proposal is welcomed with open arms."

Radical implications: The wide base of support for what Matthei describes as "a kind of American land reform" is surprising, given the somewhat radical implica-

INSIDE STORY

tions of the model. Proponents talk about "decommodification," of changing the way people look at property—not as a commodity to be profited from, but as a resource to be shared. The land-trust idea violates the American taboo about the inviolability of private property by stressing the rights of the community.

It also serves to provide that community with clout. "Community land trusts are more than benevolent real estate businesses," Matthei says. "They're social and political organizations." Often formed in communities that have histories of community action on issues like rent control, the land trusts provide a vehicle through which residents can assert a role in planning neighborhood development.

So far land trusts have made few property owners nervous. "Social ownership is not fundamentally threatening," says Baker, "so long as it is applied only to the poor and those locked out of the housing market."

But with its early signs of success in the housing arena, the land trust model is now being looked to as a solution for other problems. Some communities are trying to form land trusts to protect farmland from development, or to save industries when companies pull out of town.

If the land-trust movement continues to grow, as seems likely, it can expect to face legal challenges from the real estate interests it may begin to jeopardize. If the courts follow the tradition in U.S. law of giving maximum respect to property rights, they may rule that the land-trust leases that control resale value are illegally restrictive.

Land trusts may have to challenge Congress to pass new legislation authorizing this kind of semi-public ownership, expliciting endorsing the limits on property rights implied by land trusts. It would be ironic if socialization of property was legitimized because of the fiscal restraints imposed by the policies of a conservative president.

The Institute for Community Economics is located at 151 Montague City Road, Greenfield, MA 01301.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 31) published Aug. 3, 1988, for newsstand sales Aug. 3-16, 1988.

By Mike Tangeman

CHILPANCINGO, MEXICO

MEXICO'S RULING REVOLUTIONARY INSTITUTIONAL PARTY (PRI) is struggling to pull itself together after humiliating national elections. Meanwhile, center-left presidential candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas continues touring 14 states in which he says government vote fraud stole victories from candidates of his National Democratic Front (FDN) coalition. Cardenas lost to PRI presidential candidate Carlos Salinas in the contested July 6 vote.

Cardenas kicked off his tour in late July with a rally in this capital of the mountainous, poverty-stricken state of Guerrero. During the rally, speakers of both the right and left—including officials from the conservative National Action Party (PAN), the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) and the local affiliate of the National Council of Chambers of Commerce—charged the government with vote fraud. The speakers claimed a Cardenas victory in presidential balloting in the state.

Cardenas himself told thousands of supporters here and in the port city of Acapulco that FDN candidates had actually won eight of Guerrero's 10 seats in the federal Chamber of Deputies as well as the state's two Senate seats. The Federal Electoral Commission (CFE) awarded FDN candidates only two deputy seats.

In his characteristic low-key manner—a reliance on straight talk that has been dubbed his "charisma of anti-charisma"—Cardenas delivered a simple message to supporters in Guerrero and in other states he has since visited. He told them to organize themselves "in your villages, in your neighborhoods, in your *barrios*...so that the workers know how fraud was committed, so the *campesinos* know, the students know, so that the housewives know."

"Second election campaign": During his tour—which some have dubbed his "second election campaign"—Cardenas has threatened takeovers of town halls, highway closures, demonstrations and a national march on Mexico City. He said such actions would be a legitimate "defense of the vote" if legal efforts fail to win recognition of FDN victories by the CFE and the congressional Electoral Colleges.

According to Cardenas, the August 15 meeting of the congressional Electoral Colleges will mark the point when legal recourse to protest the election results will have been exhausted and a day for his backers to put pressure on the government "to respect our vote." He has called for demonstrations that day in plazas of local municipalities, state capitals and Mexico City as a show of opposition strength.

"If that's not enough, we will [march] on the nation's capital to make the authorities respect the balloting that took place July 6," he said.

Until the meeting of the Electoral Colleges, the vote count in 256 of Mexico's 300 electoral districts is being disputed by opposition parties in the Court of Electoral Contentions. The CFE has awarded PRI candidate Salinas the presidency with 50.36 percent of the vote and has given only four of 64 Senate seats and 240 of 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies to the opposition.

Cardenas claims he won the election with 38 percent of the vote to 35 percent for

Protest grows over Mexican vote as ruling party searches for an out



Carlos Salinas: the president-elect faces huge challenges from both inside and outside his party.

Salinas. Conservative National Action Party (PAN) candidate Manuel Clouthier says the process was so fraudulent that it can never be determined who was the real winner.

The government knows a threat of mass mobilization coming from Cardenas is not idle. On July 16, his supporters surpassed all expectations and rallied 300,000-strong in Mexico City, overflowing the main plaza in front of the National Palace.

Looking for a "rabbit": Official response to such a mass mobilization is difficult to gauge, but with the governing party trying to sort out internal divisions caused by the embarrassingly close election, it is clear, as one diplomat here said, that the government will have "to pull some kind of rabbit out of its sleeve." The "rabbit" will most probably be an economic one and, according to informed sources, may be something as drastic as a moratorium on Mexico's

\$105 billion foreign debt.

But within the PRI there is trouble between the old-guard "dinosaurs" and Salinas' clan of "modernizers"—the group of young, mostly foreign-educated technocrats behind Mexico's neo-liberal economic policies of recent years.

The embarrassingly close vote has caused the ruling party internal divisions. Observers think the government may declare a debt moratorium to regain popular support.

The old guard blames Salinas' candidacy, as well as his economic policies as former planning and budget secretary, for the reported mass defection at the polls of PRI-affiliated labor unions—especially the powerful petroleum workers union, which is said to fear privatization of the state-owned petrochemical industry under a Salinas presidency. But Salinas supporters within the party are saying that Labor Secretary Fidel Velazquez has lost his grip over organized labor. Velazquez' political head is expected to roll as a result.

Faced with the possibility of mass protest after August 15 some observers here expect the PRI to look to the economic arena for a measure designed to take the populist winds out of Cardenas' sails.

An Asian diplomat noted the postponement of the July 31 date for renegotiating the government's "economic solidarity pact" shock plan with business and labor leaders until August 15. The diplomat, whose country has major investment interests in Mexico, said his government is expecting an important change in Mexico's economic policies sometime before Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid delivers his last state of the nation message on September 1.

Likewise, a political analyst with close links to the de la Madrid administration hinted that something is brewing in the economic realm for August, but would not specify what it might be.

Bad tidings: In fact, Mexico's economy is showing signs of strain, with an election-related lack of investor confidence resulting in capital flight of at least \$1.6 billion in recent weeks. In addition, a drop to nearly \$11 per barrel in the world price of petroleum means a serious loss of revenue from sales of Mexico's main export product.

Meanwhile, labor leaders are clamoring for a renegotiation of the "solidarity" pact to include a wage hike for workers. Until now, the government plan has held wages, prices and the peso-dollar parity steady since March. But given the strains on the economy and the post-election political atmosphere, a change in either domestic or foreign economic policies could be forthcoming.

Both the diplomat and the analyst said the government may try to come up with something spectacular to defuse protest over the election. Both hinted that it could be either a moratorium or the tying of payments on Mexico's \$105 billion foreign debt to a fixed percentage of export earnings, although such would go against the technocrats' neo-liberal economic policies.

But some observers here have pointed out that Cardenas' electoral platform calling for a debt moratorium and respect of national sovereignty is now no longer the issue. Since July 6, they say, the issue has become vote fraud vs. democracy. Even the announcement of a dramatic shift on the debt question may be too little, too late—with an indignant public seeing it as just a cheap political trick. □

Mike Tangeman is *In These Times'* correspondent in Mexico.

By Jim Naureckas

Witness-rejection program

With most of the media's meager interest in Iran-contra focused on the special prosecutor, little attention was paid to other contra-related indictments handed down last month by the Miami U.S. Attorney's Office. Among those indicted were Tom Posey, head of the pro-contra Civilian Military Assistance group, and Mario Calero, brother of contra leader Adolfo Calero (currently out of favor with Washington). Strangely, however, the harshest charges in the indictments were aimed at two people who had cooperated fully with the investigation, former mercenaries Jack Terrell and Joe Adams. Terrell and Adams faced 33 years in jail, as opposed to seven for the other defendants. Terrell in particular was as much a target as a member of the contra network. After he retired from the war, Oliver North tried to intimidate Terrell. North even tried to convince the FBI that Terrell wanted to kill President Reagan. No charges were filed. Terrell's cooperation with the authorities, including Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), may have done as much to expose President Reagan's covert operations as Eugene Hasenfus' plane crash. When Terrell heard rumors that he would be indicted, he left the country for the Philippines and returned only after the indictments were issued, saying he wanted to show that he was not a risk for jumping bail. Adams has accepted a plea-bargained one-day suspended sentence, but Terrell pled not guilty and vows to fight all the way to the end.

Miami lice

Leon Kellner recently resigned as Miami U.S. attorney. And now he may face an investigation by Rep. William Hughes (D-NJ) on whether he dropped a contragate probe under pressure from Edwin Meese's Justice Department. The new attorney, Dexter Lehtinen, has excused himself from the contra case because of one of his private clients—contra fund-raiser Gen. John Singlaub.

The La Penca file

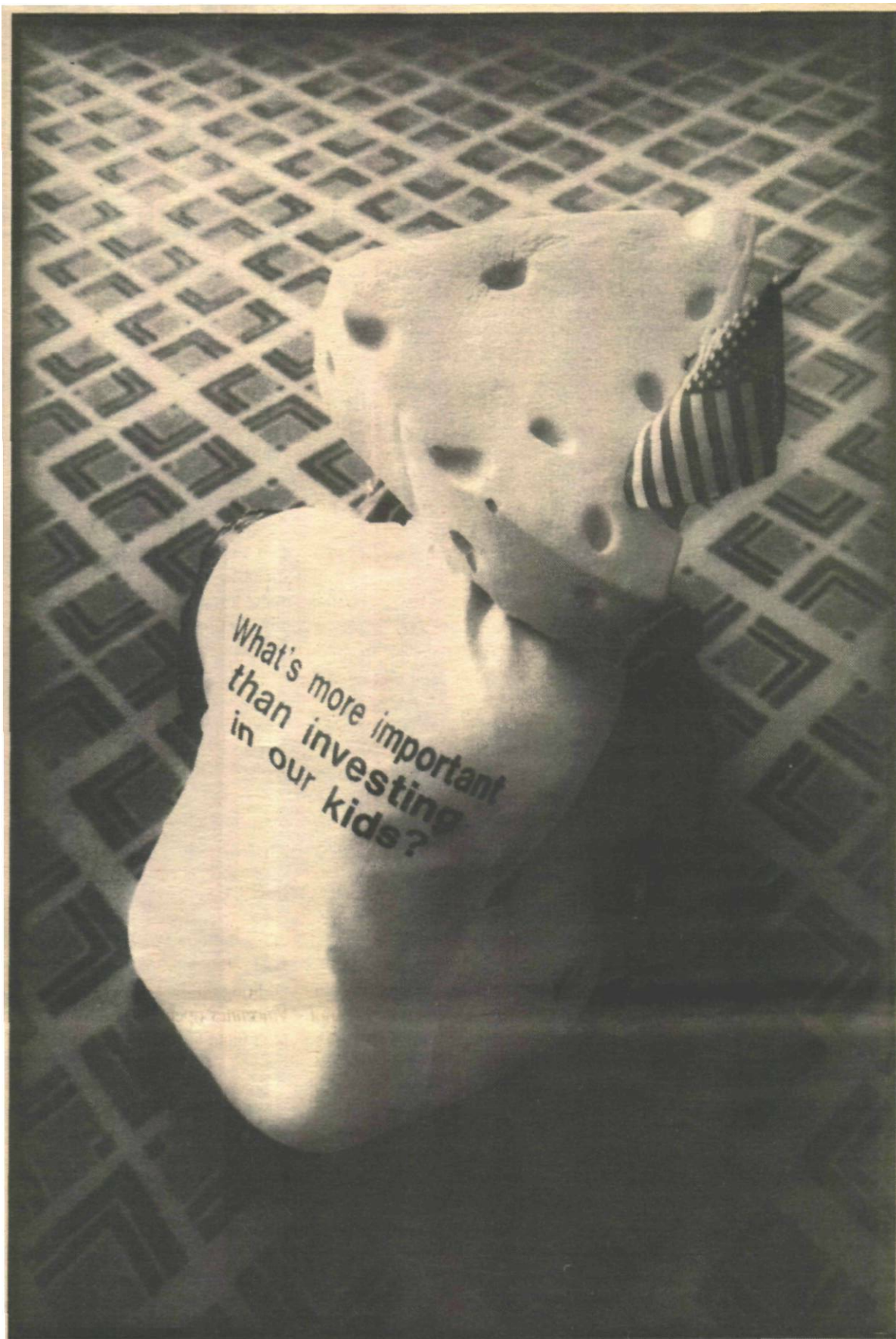
The Christic Institute has filed an appeal in its dismissed lawsuit against individuals involved in the contragate network, but the Christic probe is still turning up new mysteries. Last month the public-interest legal group received responses from the FBI on the subpoenas issued by the institute for files relating to the 1984 La Penca, Nicaragua, bombing that had injured one of its plaintiffs, journalist Tony Avirgan. (The institute maintains that the bombing was planned by the defendants in the suit.) But the three FBI offices gave strangely conflicting responses concerning the bureau's investigation into the bombing. The Washington headquarters said that there had never been a La Penca investigation. The Miami field office said that there was an ongoing investigation, so no information could be released. Only the Washington field office released any material. It turned over several pages of notes and correspondence belonging to Avirgan, most of which Avirgan says never left his office in Costa Rica. He does note, however, that his office was broken into more than once, by burglars who left valuables untouched. He also points out that the FBI's Washington field office worked closely with the contra network.

Secret diplomacy

Richard Melton, recently expelled U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, proved his aptitude for carrying out Reagan-style diplomacy when he was working in Washington for Assistant Secretary of State B. Liott Abrams. He wrote a memo to Abrams in May 1986 on the Contadora peace process: "We are pursuing a sophisticated strategy designed to ensure passage of the president's proposal for aid to the Nicaraguan resistance.... We are committed to the Nicaraguan resistance. Our support will not slacken whatever the results in Contadora." In the same memo he admitted what Abrams denied to Congress: "Private fund-raising is a key element of our strategy."

More of the same

Col. Enrique Bermudez, who recently became one of the Nicaraguan contras' political heads as well as their military leader, described to the *Miami Herald* what will happen if Congress does not give the contras more support. "The fight will take another configuration. We will see more sabotage, maybe attacks on Sandinista personalities, and why not terrorism?"



Eat cheese or die: Wisconsin delegates at the Democratic convention wore these unique hats to publicize their state's most famous commodity.

Sandinistas say interference led to expulsions

MANAGUA—Nicaraguan officials say the July 11 expulsion of Ambassador Richard Melton and seven other U.S. officials, along with the temporary closing of opposition media organs, is a warning that attempts at destabilization will not be tolerated. The Reagan administration has responded to the Nicaraguan actions by expelling Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman and seven aides from the U.S.

The controversy followed a July 10 violent disturbance in the southern Nicaraguan city of Nandaime, during which, according to eyewitnesses, demonstrators at a right-wing political rally stoned and attacked Sandinista police with sticks,

injuring 10. After the police responded with tear gas and clubs, 42 persons were arrested, including four leaders of the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinator, a coalition of right-wing opposition groups that had sponsored the rally. Both the assault against the police and the use of tear gas were unprecedented in Nicaraguan political demonstrations.

At the same time that it expelled the U.S. diplomat the government suspended publication of the opposition daily *La Prensa* for 15 days, charging it with "inciting violence" and calling for "civil disobedience and the subversion of public order." The paper, whose censorship and suspensions in the past have become major issues in the U.S., was reopened in late July. The government also indefinitely suspended Radio Catolica, the church's radio

station, citing false reports that police in Nandaime had used "mustard gas" against the demonstrators and that dozens of people had "disappeared" after the rally.

Ambassador Melton, who had assumed his duties in April, made a political debut July 3, attending a meeting of a local cattlemen's association in the northern city of Esteli at which right-wing business and political leaders launched a call for a "government of national salvation" in Nicaragua. A week before the Nandaime rally, the government began warning of the existence of the so-called "Melton plan" designed to provoke political disturbances in order to justify a new request to Congress for military aid to the insurgents.

"Previous U.S. representatives assumed correct diplomatic attitudes,"

said Interior Minister Tomas Borge. But Melton, a close associate of contragate figure Elliott Abrams, had carried out his pro-opposition activity "not in a careful or clandestine way, but openly, shamelessly, defiantly, and therefore in a way that is inadmissible," Borge said.

On May 23, the Mexican daily *El Dia* cited "diplomatic sources linked to the U.S." in reporting that the CIA had funneled \$20,000 to four leaders of the Democratic Coordinator for the purpose of "provoking acts of civil disobedience among sectors opposing the Sandinista government, creating conditions that will force the Nicaraguan authorities to repress them."

Abrams' testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee on July 14 provided further evidence for Sandinista charges against U.S. diplomats. The assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs reportedly told the Senate that the Reagan administration, working through the National Endowment for Democracy, had channelled more than \$2 million over the last four years to elements on the Nicaraguan right, including elements of the Dem-

ocratic Coordinator, Radio Catolica director Bismark Carballo and *La Prensa*.

Nicaraguan officials emphasize that the diplomatic expulsions and punishment of opposition media do not herald a closing of the space for political opposition in Nicaragua. But the Sandinistas indicate that there will be new limits to political expression. "*La Prensa* and Radio Catolica cannot go back to slandering our people, our government and our heroic combatants," said Sandinista Directorate member Bayardo Arce in a July 15 speech. "Nor are they going to continue being spokesmen for the contra revolution."

Along with the July 11 measures and the criminal trials now under way for the leaders of the Nandaime rally, Arce's statements are being interpreted here as the beginning of a tough stance by the Sandinistas. In line with this stance, the draft of the country's new electoral law now being debated forbids outside funding of Nicaraguan political parties.

The government's moves worry some sympathetic observers. Said one, "What are the Sandinistas going to do when *La Prensa* resumes pub-

lishing the same stuff for which it has just been closed?" Continual conflict between the Nicaraguan government and the newspaper, some fear, will play into the hands of the Reagan administration in its attempt to change U.S. law-makers' minds about the contras. Other Nicaraguans fear that without an ambassador present, the U.S. posture toward their country may become more aggressive.

Despite these risks, some analysts see an important strategic intent behind the Nicaraguan action. They suggest that the Sandinistas may wish to send a message to the U.S. Democratic Party, who the Nicaraguan leadership believes will form the next administration in Washington. The message is that the post-Reagan agenda toward normalization of relations between the two countries will have to include respect for Nicaraguan political integrity. According to this interpretation, the Sandinistas are acting now, before the policy of the new administration is formed, to close off the "destabilization options" as a future foreign-policy tool.

—David R. Dye

Iran Air facts continue to emerge

It has been only a month since the U.S.S. *Vincennes* shot down Iran Air flight 655, destroying the Airbus and killing all 290 civilians aboard, but already the event is treated like ancient history. The U.S. media no longer considers the story newsworthy, the Democrats scarcely mentioned it in Atlanta and President Reagan declared the incident closed a month ago.

But details are still emerging that further discredit the official U.S. version of the shootdown. The administration argued that the *Vincennes* was justified in shooting down flight 655 because it flew into a "combat zone," was outside civilian air corridors, descended in an attack profile and refused to heed a dozen warnings.

This version of events began to come apart within hours after it was presented by the Navy at a July 3 press conference. Now a secret British intelligence assessment of the shootdown and Iranian transcripts of radio communications between flight 655 and air-traffic controllers have torn gaping holes in what was left of the story.

According to the July 10 *Sunday Times* of London, British intelligence, utilizing radio intercepts by British listening posts and ships in the region, concluded that flight 655 "had left Bandar Abbas in Iran only three minutes late, was on the right flight path and was climbing—not descending, as the Americans first claimed."

The Iranian transcripts, presented to the United Nations on July 14, confirmed this account and demonstrated that flight 655 was boringly rou-

tine from the pilot's initial request for permission to start his engines at 10:10 a.m. to his last "Thank you. Good day," at 10:24, moments before being shot down. The plane's transponder had been turned on, programmed to identify the plane as civilian and checked during the flight. The plane was at 12,000 feet, not 7,000 to 9,000 feet, when hit. It was climbing, not descending.

These communications took place between the pilot and controllers in Dubai, Bandar Abbas and Tehran on three different radio frequencies. Had the *Vincennes* monitored this civilian radio traffic, a capability it possessed and which the British used, it would have been clear that flight 655 was a routine commercial flight, and the *Vincennes* would have had 14 minutes—not seven—to determine this. Navy spokesmen state that U.S. warships in the Gulf don't monitor civilian air channels because they lack the personnel.

The U.S. claimed that this "unfortunate incident" began with an Iranian attack on a U.S. helicopter dispatched by the *Vincennes*. However, the *Sunday Times* notes that British intelligence felt the Iranian firing "may have been provoked by American helicopters flying into Iranian airspace."

The *Vincennes* may also have been within Iranian territorial waters when it shot down flight 655. Adm. William Crowe admitted that the wreckage of flight 655 fell in Iranian waters, approximately six miles away from the *Vincennes*. Charts presented by Iran to the U.N. indicate that it fell roughly two and a half to four miles south and east of Iran's Qeshm Island. Since Iran claims a 12-mile limit (which the U.S. officially recognizes), the *Vincennes* may have been as much as three

miles inside Iranian territorial waters when it launched its missiles.

Neither the *Vincennes* nor a nearby U.S. vessel, the *Montgomery*, was ever under attack, and these ships opened fire on three Iranian patrol boats 32 minutes after Iran's reported firing on the U.S. helicopter. The *Vincennes* opened fire two minutes after flight 655 had been cleared for take-off.

So U.S. warships may have barged into Iranian waters and created a combat zone—and the U.S. now blames Iran for flying into it. These facts and the whole question of where the shoot-down took place have been largely ignored by the media, preserving the excuse of Iranian recklessness and aggression.

The events of July 3 were neither accidental nor unique. Rather they were a continuation of a pattern of selective strikes and intimidation aimed at Iran. U.S. strategy in the Iran-Iraq war is currently aimed, not at maintaining neutrality and defending the principle of free navigation, but of bullying Iran into submission. Specifically, the U.S. wants Iran to end the Gulf war and to return to the Western fold. The economic, military and political pressure brought to bear on Iran and de facto U.S. (and Soviet) support for Iraq appears now to be having its intended effect: Iran has apparently agreed to end the war, basically on terms favored by the U.S.

After the Soviet shootdown of Korean Airlines flight 007 in 1983, then-U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick proclaimed that incident a crime caused by the "Soviet proclivity to use violence and then lie about it." One could not ask for a more succinct assessment of the U.S. shootdown of Iran Air flight 655 and its rationalizations afterward.

—Larry Everest

Let the punishment fit the crime

Remember the Israeli soldiers who used bulldozers to bury alive four Palestinian protesters? The officer in charge was sentenced to five months in jail, while the two others got four and five months, later reduced to two and two-and-a-half months on appeal. Remember the soldiers filmed by CBS brutally beating two Palestinian youths? Their officer was given a five-month suspended sentence, later increased to 45 days plus a five-month suspended sentence. This information comes from *The Other Israel*, a newsletter whose editor was sentenced to three months imprisonment and six months suspended sentence for painting pacifist slogans on military vehicles.

Soviet vogue

After being expelled a second time from the Soviet Union, *Soviet-American Review* editor and *In These Times* correspondent Alex Amerisov was the subject of a half-page attack in the Ukraine's main daily, *Pravda Ukrainy*. The profile of this "unmasked hooligan scribbler" included a dig at the "expensively dressed" Amerisov's wardrobe: "T-shirt, jeans jacket, jeans pants, running shoes."

Gulf coverup

The Navy's investigation of the downing of Iran Air flight 655 promises to be a whitewash, according to the *Chicago Tribune's* David Evans. The investigators are all active-duty Navy officers who bear direct responsibility for overseeing the Persian Gulf mission, and will be unlikely to judge their subordinates and thus themselves too harshly. The leader of the inquiry, Adm. William Fogerty, himself helped develop the rules of engagement that led to the loss of 290 civilian lives. With the Navy planning to buy \$80 billion worth of ships equipped with the same radar system that mistook an Airbus for an F-14, it's unlikely that naval technology will come under close scrutiny either.

Argentina's Waldheim

Under Argentina's military junta (1976-84) more than 5,000 people were sent to the basement torture center at the Navy Mechanics School near Buenos Aires, never to be seen again. But the man who headed the detention center in 1984, Adm. Jose Maria Arriola, is making a reappearance. He's the new vice chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, a Washington-based coordinating group for the militaries of the Western Hemisphere.

Prison politics

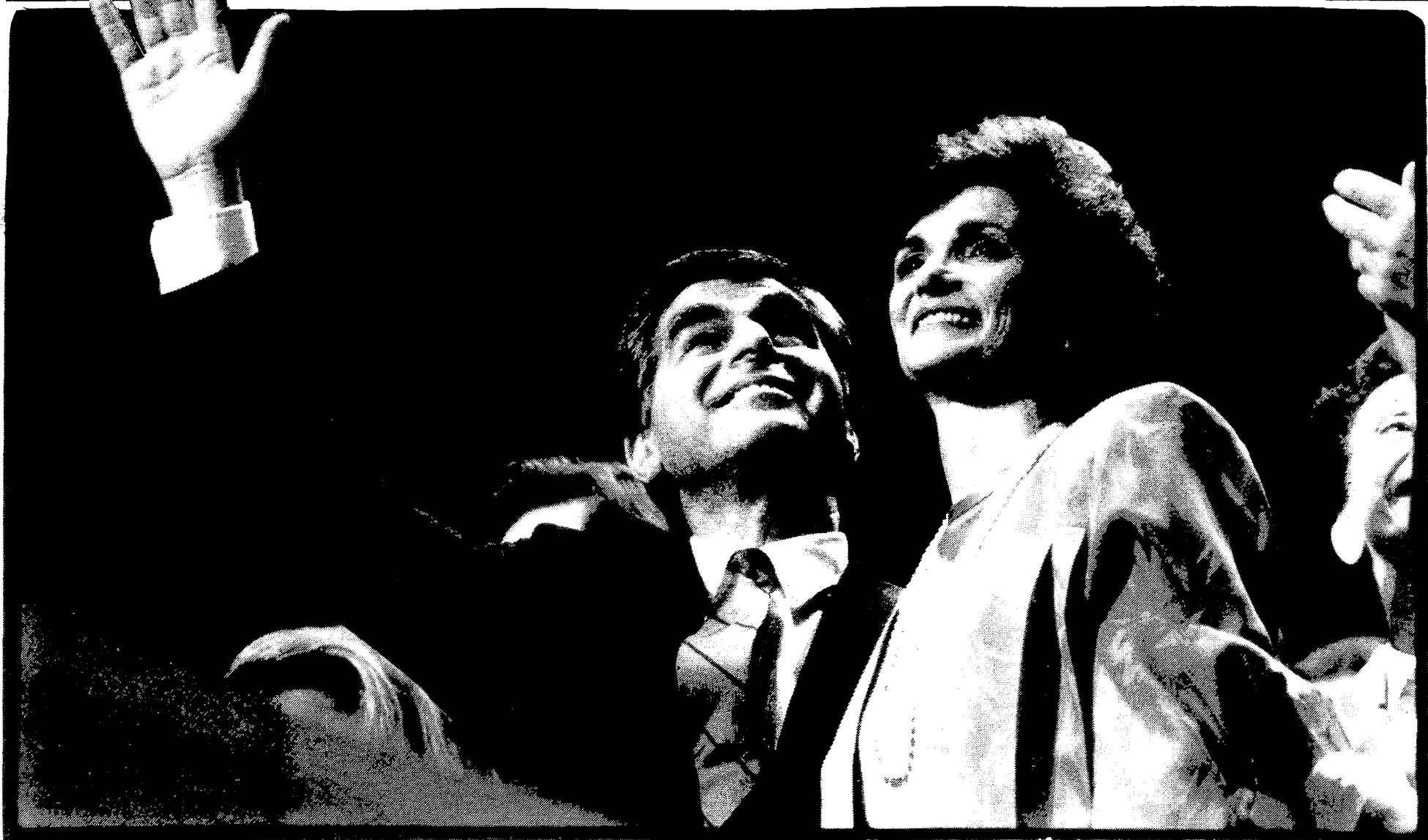
A federal judge in Washington, D.C., has ruled that prisoners cannot be detained in an isolation unit because of their radical political beliefs. Judge Barrington Parker ruled that Silvia Baraldini, convicted of conspiracy to aid armed robbery, and Susan Rosenberg, convicted of possessing weapons and explosives, must be transferred from the isolation unit at Lexington, Ky. Security precautions are so extreme at Lexington that critics call them psychological torture (see *In These Times*, Jan. 13). Parker said that although the U.S. "may be concerned that the two plaintiffs will persuade inmates within the general prison population to share their political views...those fears cannot be accommodated at the expense of constitutional rights."

Dirty diapers

According to *Environmental Action* magazine, 18 billion plastic diapers are buried in landfills every year, each of which will take up to 500 years to decompose. The magazine's solution: diaper services, which charge from 15 to 75 percent less per diaper than disposables.

The Reagan/Bush/Arafat ticket

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yassir Arafat and his aides told *Playboy* magazine that an associate of Ronald Reagan's asked the PLO to help keep U.S. Embassy hostages in Iran until after the 1980 election. The report in *Playboy's* September issue is the latest corroboration of an *In These Times* story (June 24, 1987) that the Reagan campaign took steps to ensure that President Carter did not bring the hostages home. These steps allegedly included promising U.S. arms to Iran once Reagan took power. An aide to Arafat said the PLO was told that if it cooperated "the White House door would be open for us."



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By David Moberg

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE Michael Dukakis' acceptance speech—an upbeat evocation of what government and an American community can do in partnership to create greater economic opportunities—left many observers scrambling for a label to stick on him.

Clearly the Democrats want, at all costs this year, to avoid being branded as “old-fashioned liberals,” whatever an old-fashioned liberal may be. Dukakis has largely steered clear of the “new populism” represented by Jesse Jackson. He also is not, despite choosing Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate, a traditionally conservative defender of big-business interests and gunboat foreign policy.

Dukakis, journalist David Osborne argues, is a prime example of the “new paradigm liberal” or “neo-progressive” Democrat who has emerged from the post-Watergate “laboratories of democracy” in state governments around the country. Taking a phrase Justice Louis Brandeis used earlier in the century to describe the state-level Progressive Movement reformers, Osborne argues in *Laboratories of Democracy* (Harvard Business School Press) that a number of current or recent governors are defining a new approach to politics that is neither traditional Democratic liberalism nor Reaganite conservatism. The group includes Democrats Dukakis, Mario Cuomo of New York, Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, James Blanchard of Michigan and Bill Clinton of Arkansas as well as Republican Richard Thornburgh of Pennsylvania. Their state policies—and Osborne's revealing book—offer valuable clues about a possible Dukakis presidency.

New era: The stable post-war economy has given way to a world in which international competition and rapid technological innovation dominate, Osborne argues. The new-paradigm liberal

Understanding Dukakis as a “neo-progressive”

digm liberal governors respond by stressing economic growth through innovation. They promote education and job-retraining, research, industrial modernization and aid to entrepreneurs—from opening up markets to providing risk capital. They try to link social and economic programs, spreading growth to needy areas, encouraging greater worker participation and shifting people off welfare and into the workforce with training and social supports such as child care.

They are less interested in handing out government grants, loans and tax breaks than altering the way businesses and banks invest. They accomplish this by reducing private risks or forming “partnerships”—a key buzzword—that often include community groups and

Dukakis is one of a number of governors who are defining a new approach to politics.

labor as well as government and business. They disdain “smokestack chasing” in favor of home-grown, innovative new businesses.

As Osborne describes them, these neo-progressives don't believe the market works perfectly when undisturbed by government. But rather than using government to pick up the tab for the social costs of a malfunctioning market, they try to “reshape the market” to make it work better. That could mean helping to bring new products or manufacturing pro-

cesses more quickly into commercial use. It could also mean providing capital for entrepreneurs who find it hard to get backing because they're new and untested, or because they are from minorities or based in depressed areas.

This “microeconomic” intervention in the nitty-gritty workings of business is different from traditional Democratic or Republican policies that rely primarily on setting the broad outlines through tax or monetary policies, infrastructure investment and regulation.

Facing regional economic crises, these governors decided they had to do something. But they were also forced to economize. That led them both to try to steer private investment for public goals and to turn increasingly to the “third sector”—community groups and non-profit organizations. Often this “third sector” could build housing, deliver social services or channel investment dollars as well as, if not better than, private firms or government agencies.

Duke's unmiraculous miracle: Especially after his comeback in 1982 from his primary defeat by a conservative Democrat four years earlier, Dukakis relied on state development banks, as well as a set of agencies to help revitalize mature industries and a Housing Partnership to spread around the economic boom.

Despite well-deserved praise, these programs did not produce “the Massachusetts miracle.” A big edge in federal military spending—much of it to universities—that spun off high-tech businesses was more important, as economists such as Ann Markusen of North-

western University and Bennett Harrison of MIT argue. And as Harrison and co-author Jean Kluver argued in a recent paper, the low unemployment rate owes a lot to slow growth of the labor force and only a little to high-tech (one-sixth of recent job growth). Despite Dukakis' efforts to spread economic activity (the neo-progressive alternative to income redistribution), wage and job growth have remained concentrated in the Boston area. Even there manufacturing has been slowing down in favor of a “Manhattanized” economy based on finance and real estate.

Such criticisms are not intended to bash Dukakis, who has done as well as any governor, but to call into question how much the state experience provides a model for federal policies. For example, Dukakis has certainly taken the lead at the state level in expanding health care for those without health insurance. But many Massachusetts health advocates, such as Dr. David Himmelstein, argue that Dukakis catered too much to hospital and business interests. By designing a program that essentially expanded the existing health-care system, every step toward greater coverage raised costs and business opposition. But a comprehensive national health service such as Canada has—and the federal government could enact—would greatly expand health care while reducing costs. (Canada spends 8.5 percent of its GNP on health care; the U.S. spends 11.2 percent for less coverage.)

Using “laboratories of democracy”: Osborne concludes from his survey of neo-progressive governors that there are great fiscal limits to government. But the fiscal limits are at best political, not economic (in most industrialized nations the public sector makes up a much larger portion of the national product than in the U.S.). The federal government could spend more, but it would have to convince Americans they were getting something for their money. That's where the

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By Dave Denison

AUSTIN, TEXAS

YOU MIGHT NOT GUESS IT BY LOOKING AT him now, but Lloyd Bentsen has had his outrageous moments. The calm and dignified Texas senator is currently serving not only as Michael Dukakis' running mate but as an antidote for the kind of emotionalism and anxiety that the Dukakis camp associates with the Jesse Jackson phenomenon. There have been a few times, however, when Lloyd Bentsen was the candidate stoking the emotional fires of the populace.

Most newspaper profiles of Bentsen have made obligatory mention of his sentiment that the U.S. had the right to A-bomb the bejesus out of North Korea in the '50s. But missing from those vague archival references is the full flavor of what prompted the 29-year-old congressman to rise to the House floor with such fervor. Just five years earlier he had been making bombing runs over Western Europe, so he was filled with empathy for the U.S. troops.

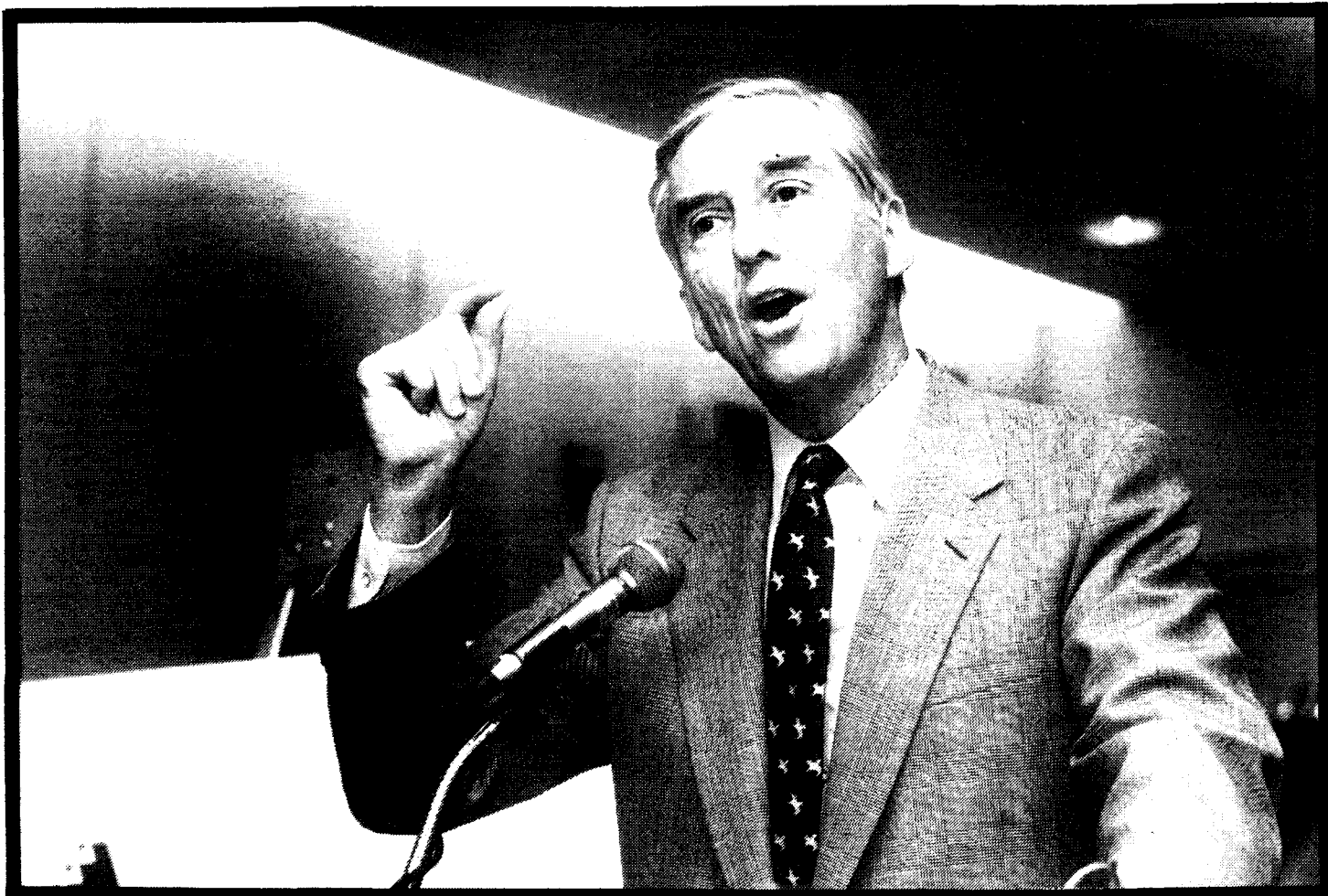
He was so alarmed about a Communist menace that he urged the president to warn the North Korean army to withdraw past the 38th parallel or "be subjected to atomic attack by our Air Force." He continued, "We are fighting this battle with one hand tied behind us. Let us use everything we can to end this war now... Better to let those who would destroy free nations know...the atomic bomb awaits those who would violate the peace of free men."

Life as a Red-baiter: Bentsen was, in fact, a true-blue McCarthyite in the '50s. Even after the U.S. Senate censured Joe McCarthy in 1954 Bentsen told a Corpus Christi newspaper that he disagreed with McCarthy only in tactics. The paper quoted Bentsen saying it was necessary "to increase our effort to ferret out the Reds." One of Bentsen's few labor-related bills in his six years as a U.S. representative (1949-54) consisted of an effort "to establish effective means to determine Communist domination in unions."

This, of course, was popular stuff in Texas at the time. Bentsen showed the same instinct for appealing to popular fear and loathing when he decided to re-enter politics in 1970 as a candidate for the U.S. Senate. For 13 years Texas had been served by Ralph Yarborough, the populist senator who led the wing of the Democratic Party that spoke up for farmers and workers and minorities and against "the interests." Former Gov. John Connally, on behalf of the business wing of the party, recruited Bentsen to run against Yarborough in the primary.

By this time Bentsen had become a millionaire in the insurance business. He also had made valuable business contacts while serving on the boards of directors for banks, oil and gas companies, and even Lockheed Aircraft Corp.—at the time the nation's largest military contractor.

He vastly outspent Yarborough, sinking much of his money into a negative radio and TV advertising campaign. One TV spot opened with scenes of violence at a demonstration in Chicago in 1968. Bentsen's voice explained, "That was the violence in Chicago spawned by supporters of Eugene McCarthy during the Democratic convention. Sen. Ralph Yarborough endorsed McCarthy for president." In other ads, he said Yarborough's support for the anti-war movement was "encouraging disobedience which



Bland is beautiful: Lloyd Bentsen has made a conscious effort in recent years to rid himself of identifiable ideology.

Bentsen: the Duke of Oil used to be a McCarthyite

has often led to criminal violence."

By linking Yarborough with shaggy political protesters, Bentsen succeeded in cutting into Yarborough's support from the labor and rural voters who were angry with the cultural ferment of the times. It wasn't pretty, but it got the job done. After defeating Yarborough in the primary, Bentsen went on to down Republican candidate George Bush in the 1970 general election.

Nowadays, the press routinely calls the Texas senator "courtly." His tactics against Yarborough are passed off as being due to his powerful competitive streak: he hates to lose in tennis, skeet-shooting, poker or politics. When he is asked about his statements in favor of atomic war in Korea, he responds only that he is "older and wiser" now.

The politics of blandness: With the gaining of power, Bentsen has made a conscious effort to rid himself of identifiable ideology. His speeches today sound as if he has taken lessons in calculated blandness. Accepting the nomination for vice president at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Bentsen lost the crowd's attention within minutes with such meaningless pronouncements as, "We Democrats don't march in lockstep behind some narrow, rigid ideology of indifference." In seconding Bentsen's nomination, former Rep. Barbara Jordan said, "It is a mistake for you to try to label Lloyd Bentsen." She maintained that the terms "Tory Democrat" and "conservative" and even "a businessman" do not do Bentsen justice.

On the campaign trail, Bentsen himself is encouraging this ideological fuzziness by playing the conservative to those who think Dukakis is too liberal and touting his own "liberal" stands to those who think Dukakis

shouldn't have picked such a conservative.

But if Bentsen cannot be precisely "labeled," he can be defined easily enough; for, except for the blandification of his style, his career has been remarkably consistent. There are three basic elements.

The hyper-hawk: First, on military and foreign-policy questions he is on the right wing. Whether in the form of an anti-communist in the '50s, a hawk in the '60s and '70s, or a Reaganite in the '80s, his stands have been for more military spending and for more military meddling in the Third World. When Barbara Jordan said of Bentsen in Atlanta that he is "a man who has an instinct for doing what is right," it was impossible for the words to ring true if one recalled his many votes for military aid to the contras in Nicaragua.

Bentsen has voted for the worst of the Reagan military boondoggles, including the M-X missile and the B-1 bomber. The right-



wing Coalition for Peace Through Strength traditionally honors him with their highest award for his "pro-defense" voting record, as they did in 1986 by presenting him with a 14-inch alabaster eagle and proclaiming that Bentsen "clearly understands the real and present dangers to America's national security."

Strong on civil rights: Second, Bentsen sprinkles his record with touches of social liberalism. Though he deems his McCarthyite views from the '50s to be no longer relevant, he is proud to extol his vote in 1953 against the poll tax, which kept minorities away from the voting booth, as well as his other early stands for civil rights. These days he has to his credit legislative work to expand Medicare for those faced with catastrophic illness, and to reform the welfare system. And all over the country he will be reminding voters of his support for the measure to require workers to be given 60 days notice before plant closings and layoffs. When he was in business, he said recently in Texas, he made a practice of giving 90 days' notice.

Corporate ally: The third and most important part of Bentsen's essence as a politician is that he is true to the corporate sector. He has his favorites in the business world, which of course include the oil and gas industries. He struggled mightily for tax breaks that the real estate industry wanted in the last tax bill (although he lost out). Defense contractors, insurance lobbyists and bankers have always been able to count on Bentsen. And surely the prime reason he voted with Reagan more times in the early years of the administration than any other senator is that he fundamentally agrees with the economic theory that what is good for the capital investor class is inevitably good for the economy.

The corporate class in return has been true to Lloyd Bentsen. He is a man who has raised \$1 million in contributions in a recent three-month period (April through June),

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By John B. Judis

ATLANTA

The odd couple: Jesse Jackson and Lloyd Bentsen in a show of party unity.

AFTER THE CLIMACTIC 1968 DEMOCRATIC convention, in which Hubert Humphrey was nominated by party bosses without winning a single primary, Democrats changed the rules to ensure candidates were chosen through state primaries and caucuses. This made the nominating process more democratic but conventions less significant and interesting.

Political conventions still have two important purposes, however: they provide the nominee with an opportunity to unify the party's factions and regions and to use national television to develop the themes of the fall campaign.

At the Democratic convention in Atlanta Gov. Michael Dukakis tried to gain solid support from both the party's conservative wing, which sat out the 1984 campaign, and the forces of the Rev. Jesse Jackson. He also used the convention to preview his own brand of post-Cold War liberalism.

Dukakis mollified party conservatives by choosing Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate. Except in the last year, Bentsen's voting record has been closer to that of Republican Sen. Robert Dole than to Democratic Sen. Edward Kennedy.

But the choice of Bentsen made it more difficult to win over Jackson and his delegates. The jousting between Jackson and Dukakis dominated the week leading up to the convention, as well as the gathering's first two days.

The issues were at once personal and political. Would Jackson get the respect and achieve the stature he craved? Would Jackson's constituents—pledged at once to him and to his political agenda—be satisfied and work with the party's ticket in the fall? Would Dukakis, like Walter Mondale in 1984, accede to Jackson in a way that diminished his own stature and his appeal among voters

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Democratic Party acrobats in a tricky balancing act

who dislike the populist preacher?

Jackson's two sides: With the possible exception of New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, Jackson is the most fascinating figure in American politics. He is larger than life, his already-imposing frame heightened by a sometimes glorious, sometimes infamous past. Many of his followers cast him as the true successor to Martin Luther King Jr.—a heroic figure engaged in a titanic moral struggle on behalf of the dispossessed. At a Rainbow Coalition workshop in Atlanta, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker spoke of the "King-Jackson connection."

Jackson's critics, however, brand him as a megalomaniac committed above all to his own celebrity. Jackson has an "addiction," columnist William Raspberry writes, "for the spotlight, the microphone, the headline."

The two sides of Jackson's character carried over to the political movement he brought to Atlanta. On the one hand, in its passion and broader goals, it resembled King's civil rights movement. But it was also Jackson's instrument for enhancing his own power and stature within the Democratic Party—and the means by which he hopes to win the nomination in 1992 or 1996.

Jackson has an unerring flair for the dramatic, whether in waging a political campaign or in delivering a speech. He understands that just as pleasure derives from the release of tension, success in politics can be achieved by seeking to overreach but then gracefully retreating. In the weeks before the convention tension between Jackson and

Dukakis heightened. After Dukakis announced his choice of Bentsen, Jackson hinted that he would allow his supporters to nominate him for vice president—a move that would destroy the appearance of harmony that the Dukakis camp was trying to create.

When using this confrontational method, Jackson has to avoid totally alienating his opponent so that no compromise is possible. He also has to avoid agitating his followers so much that they refuse to back down gracefully. Heading toward Atlanta on the "freedom caravan," Jackson had the most to fear from his own supporters.

Dukakis previewed his brand of post-Cold War liberalism.

Since April, when it became clear that Jackson could not win the nomination, some of his followers have been touting him for the vice presidency. Before the New York primary Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) told Jackson that he should begin negotiations with Dukakis for the ticket's No. 2 spot. Even though most Democratic Party insiders felt that Jackson would hurt Dukakis in the election, Dellums and other prominent Jackson supporters like Bernard Demczuk of the American Federation of Government Employees assumed that a Dukakis-Jackson ticket could defeat Vice President Bush with a "black Southern strategy." This strategy

was aimed at capturing the industrial North and far West along with those Southern states in which blacks constituted 20 percent of the vote. By the time of the convention, more than 80 percent of Jackson's 1,200 delegates believed that Jackson would make not only a just, but a prudent choice for vice president.

The more cautious political professionals in Jackson's entourage warned him that he was nourishing dangerous illusions. Former Carter aide Bert Lance and former Democratic National Chairman John White urged Jackson to reach a rapprochement with Dukakis. Rep. John Lewis (D-GA), a former civil rights leader, urged Jackson and his followers to be realistic. "Jesse must be willing to see that what's going on is not the civil rights movement," Lewis said. "This is not the march from Selma to Montgomery. This is not a freedom ride—the man [Dukakis] has won the nomination."

Backing down: By the time Jackson arrived in Atlanta he had already begun to back down. In meetings between Jackson's convention chairman, Ron Brown, and Dukakis' chairman, Paul Brontas, the terms of compromise were laid down and then ratified during a Monday morning breakfast meeting between Jackson and Dukakis.

What Jackson got came very far short of the "equal partnership" he had sought. Besides a campaign plane for the fall and funding for staff, Jackson won some seats on the Democratic National Committee—of little significance unless Dukakis loses in November—and Dukakis' agreement to emphasize certain issues, including statehood for the District of Columbia and "set-asides" for minority businesses. In exchange, Jackson withdrew his threat of running for vice president and promised to back the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket in the fall.

That afternoon Jackson met with delegates to try to quiet their fears of a "sellout."

He won their support for the agreement, but not their support for the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket. Many of his delegates, who sported "Jessecrat" buttons, were simply not interested in Dukakis or in party politics. They didn't walk out of the convention, but as California Dukakis delegate Martin Carnoy complained, they "walked out in their minds." Mtangulizi Sanyika, a Jackson campaign official from Richmond, Calif., expressed the common conviction of many Jackson supporters in Atlanta: "I am going to go where Jesse says we should go—probably—but I have some other thoughts on my mind."

Throughout the convention, Jackson would have to continue putting out brushfires fueled by his delegates. For instance, Jackson's New York delegates briefly decided they would refuse to vote for Bentsen,

in protest against the Texas senator's announcement that he would continue to vote for contra aid in the Senate. Jackson got the delegates to withdraw their threat, but some Jackson backers carried signs against contra aid into the convention on the final night.

Serious disagreements also broke out between rival delegations. In the Illinois camp an ugly fight erupted between the Jackson delegates and the delegates originally pledged to Sen. Paul Simon, the winner of the state's primary who later bowed from the race. Jackson's supporters wanted Illinois to honor their candidate with "favorite son" status and vote for him accordingly. But downstate and ethnic Chicago delegates, many of whom had backed Simon against Jackson, wanted to switch their votes to Dukakis.

There was "deep racism" in the discussions, Citizen Action President Heather Booth, a Dukakis delegate from Chicago, complained. The delegates finally compromised—giving the state to Dukakis but making Jackson an "honorary favorite son."

The worst clash between Dukakis and Jackson supporters came during Tuesday afternoon's platform debate—a debate that was not covered on the television networks.

The "Palestine question": After the Jackson-Dukakis peace pact the two camps split their differences on 10 platform amendments that Jackson was proposing and agreed to bring three remaining amendments to the floor. Two of the issues—whether Dukakis would endorse a tax increase for the wealthy and whether he would pledge not to use nuclear weapons first—did not

hinge so much on philosophical differences between Dukakis and Jackson, but rather on what Dukakis wanted to run on during the campaign (see *In These Times*, June 22). But the two camps remained far apart on a Jackson amendment calling for Palestinian "self-determination." The campaigns agreed to debate the Palestinian amendment on the convention's second day, but, at the urging of the Jackson camp, not to vote on it.

Jackson has always identified with the Palestinians as an "out" group—seeing their plight as similar to that of Southern blacks in the '50s. This view is increasingly shared by many black intellectuals and political activists. Earlier in the presidential campaign, Dukakis had expressed some reservations about Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories, but as the campaign progressed had

Media stirs the muck, but only clouds the issues

By Norman Solomon

ATLANTA

A CRUCIAL DYNAMIC AT THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention was the tacit alliance between mass media and Michael Dukakis—boosting the party's centrists while stiff-arming the Jesse Jackson "progressives."

Setting up makeshift offices in an enormous exhibit complex next to the convention hall in Atlanta, some 13,500 journalists and media technicians got to work with the news frame already well established. For the most part they proceeded to report within it. Networks and daily newspapers harped on the same few themes: originality was not a journalistic strong suit.

Equating moderation with wise pursuit of victory, media pundits applauded deference to party conservatives, symbolized by the vice-presidential choice of Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. In the *Washington Post*, David Broder expressed approval that Dukakis "sent an unmistakable message to the activist constituencies of the Democratic Party that the days of litmus-test liberalism are finished." Speaking on NBC, Broder was more explicit: "There is a consensus in the Democratic Party that has moved to the center and the right—and the Jackson people are way out of this consensus."

Even the country's most widely-read left/liberal columnist joined in bashing Jackson. A week before the convention Mary McGrory concluded that "Jackson has found his calling. It is reminding Democrats that he is wonderful and powerful, and nobody must forget it for a moment."

Network failure: Media attacks on Jackson intensified as delegates were gathering in Atlanta. CBS correspondent Bruce Morton talked about his "volatile personality." NBC's Tom Brokaw suggested that Jackson might be on an "ego trip." *Chicago Tribune* columnist Joan Beck wrote that "his resume is no match for his ego," while Broder explored new frontiers of condescension: "The man's ego has been so much on display in the maneuvering surrounding the Democratic National Convention that it has almost snuffed out the sympathy Jackson's concerns and constituencies should command."

Such pronouncements could only be

music to the ears of Dukakis strategists in the midst of hard-nosed negotiations with Jackson aides. Meanwhile, news coverage continued to use "special interests" as a pejorative term.

The day before the convention opened, NBC correspondent Chris Wallace solemnly reported, "This is the central question: how far can Dukakis go to meet Jackson without appearing like 1984—to be caving in to every special interest?"

Curiously, the "special interests" tag was applied to Jackson constituencies, but not to corporate backers of politicians like Bentsen or George Bush. Traditionally "special interests" has referred to economic interests relying on financial clout to dominate politics. But at this convention the mainstream media increasingly turned the phrase upside down, using it to denote groups representing women, blacks, Hispanics, labor unionists, gays, lesbians and others.

Jackson's willingness to contest majority views seemed to irk U.S. reporters who were apparently more fond of the notion of open debate at the Communist Party's June conference in Moscow than the Democratic Party's July convention in Atlanta. (Jackson delegates "are capable of causing trouble," said Bill Plante of CBS; colleague Diane Sawyer added that they "have the threat of disruption over issues.") Dukakis platform positions were equated with reasoned unity, minority planks with divisiveness.

Right-thinking folk: A CBS promotional ad went like this: "Tomorrow on *Face the Nation*: Jesse Jackson—a team player or not?" On that program Leslie Stahl proclaimed from the outset: "The question is, who will dominate the convention—the man who won or the runner-up?" She added: "It should have been Dukakis' week but it wasn't." She wondered aloud whether Jackson would "steal the convention limelight." And, interviewing Jackson, she replied to his contention that taxes should be increased for the wealthy: "But Dukakis doesn't want that in the platform, and this is supposed to be his convention."

While David Broder declared the Jacksonites to be "way out" of the Democratic Party's new "consensus," the *Los Angeles Times* implied that they were not really part of the

party at all—reporting in the lead of a July 17 front-page article that "Rev. Jesse Jackson sows frustration and anxiety throughout the Democratic Party."

Media pundits, in a way, helped clear political turf in Atlanta that beckoned Dukakis rightward. And ultimately the atmosphere that prompted the Bentsen choice prevailed in Atlanta. "Despite Jesse Jackson's speechifying," the *National Journal* observed, "pragmatism has ultimately triumphed over passion at this convention."

The up side of this pragmatism, of course, is supposed to be a Democrat in the White House. Many, eager for a Bush defeat, seem unconcerned about the down side. But the Dukakis campaign's successful effort to defeat a minority platform plank for "no first use" of nuclear weapons offered a nightmarish glimpse of a Dukakis presidency. With the Duke leading the party, prominent liberals knuckled under.

Prone on the platform: At the podium California Sen. Alan Cranston and Massachusetts Rep. Ed Markey—both longtime opponents of nuclear buildups—forcefully argued against the Jackson campaign's "no first use" plank. As Markey put it: "We have to give Michael Dukakis the flexibility that this platform now provides." (One of the normally subdued Cable News Network anchors, Reid Collins, exclaimed on camera: "And that from one of the originators of the concept of the nuclear freeze!")

The anti-nuclear movement has struggled against such "flexibility" throughout the '80s. But overall the mass media showed little interest in exploring contradictions between liberal Dukakis loyalists and their previous

utterances. After delegates voted down "no first use" by a 2-to-1 margin, the implications drew little attention.

With Democrats like Cranston and Markey already eager to obey the Duke's marching orders, even at the cost of reversing prior arms control stands, the same dynamics that held sway on the convention floor could become routine under a Dukakis administration.

In order to avoid being neutralized by Democratic Party kingpins calling the expedient shots, "progressive" forces within the party must struggle for their positions. Such an approach met with disapproval from Dukakis tacticians and mainstream media alike. Midway through the convention, for instance, *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis wrote of her distaste for "the emotional urge for political purity called the left." While unable to ignore Jackson's eloquence or huge following, press coverage remained hostile to much of the programmatic content of his campaign.

At Jackson's solo press conference the day after the convention, I asked him to comment on news media bias in the use of the "special interests" label. "I think it would be important for you to give a workshop on that issue for the media," Jackson responded. The minority plank for a tax hike for the wealthy, he recalled, had been dubbed a "special interest" proposal. But, he asked, "what is special about asking the rich to pay their fair share?"

Norman Solomon, co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation*, is Washington coordinator for FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting).



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fallen under the influence of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and other groups in favor of the Israeli government's opposition to a Palestinian state. At their urging the Dukakis campaign insisted on keeping the Palestinians out of the platform entirely.

The Jackson amendment stirred furious debate within several delegations. In the New York delegation the debate over the platform plank assumed undertones of black-Jewish conflict. "There was a manifest content and a latent content," said Michael Lerner, editor of the liberal Jewish magazine *Tikkun*, who attended the delegate caucuses. "The latent content came down to blacks vs. Jews."

At the debate before the full convention, the Jackson campaign asked Jim Zogby, executive director of the Arab American Institute and a Jackson adviser, to introduce the amendment. The choice was a significant one. The Jackson campaign could have chosen a Jewish proponent of a two-state solution to make its case. Such a move would have appealed to the sentiment for a two-state solution among many Dukakis supporters (a *Los Angeles Times* poll found 70 percent of the delegates favoring a "Palestinian homeland").

But Zogby offended many delegates by using the word "Palestine," the pre-1947 designation of Israel favored by those who refuse to acknowledge the Jewish state's right to exist. Zogby also criticized President Jimmy Carter's Camp David agreement, even though the Jackson plank virtually paraphrased its terms.

"I felt I didn't belong in this convention. I wanted to leave and go home," one Jewish New York delegate said after Zogby's presentation.

The Dukakis campaign contributed further to the looming polarization by enlisting Hawaii Sen. Daniel Inouye, a prime beneficiary of AIPAC-affiliated PAC money, and Brooklyn Rep. Charles Schumer to plead its case. Neither speaker acknowledged the legitimacy of Palestinian rights. Inouye charged that the Jackson plank condoned "terrorism and violence," while Schumer warned that "we must never place one group's right to self-determination over another group's right to survival."

Jackson delegates booed and chanted during Inouye and Schumer's polemical speeches. Had the debate lasted another 15 minutes fist fights would certainly have broken out on the convention floor. Any chance to establish agreement on the Mideast was lost. "As I stood on the floor I was overwhelmed by the depth of the feeling. I became very fearful of a schism between the blacks and the Jews," Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank said later.

The debate showed both the campaigns at their worst. Dukakis demonstrated his willingness to ignore a people's rights as long as enough of them don't vote in American elections. Jackson proved that he is still not willing to acknowledge or seek to quiet the fears he arouses among Jews, including Jews like Lerner who share his overt views on the Mideast. "Jackson is not an anti-Semite," Lerner said afterward. "But he does not like Jews."

Common ground: The agreement between Jackson and Dukakis affirmed Dukakis' control of the convention, but for the first two days the convention was still Jackson's show. On Tuesday night, almost 50 percent of those watching television (a category as

important in conventions as "eligible voters") saw Jackson make a stirring speech that brought tears to the eyes of even those delegates most averse to Jackson's showmanship.

Jackson does not pander to a crowd's political preferences. Instead he plays his own off against theirs, creating tension, then release. In his speech before the convention Jackson asserted his own uniqueness as a child of the civil rights movement, at the same time as he tried to establish "common ground" between himself and the Dukakis supporters. At times Jackson has had to stretch to include "ins" along with "outs" on his patchwork political quilt.

One of Jackson's favorite sayings was that Reagan has "engaged in reverse Robin Hood—took from the poor and gave to the rich."

Rev. Jesse Jackson doesn't pander to a crowd's political preferences. Instead he plays his own political views off against theirs, creating tension, then release.

But as he has become a viable candidate Jackson has sought to include the middle class, perhaps at the expense of arithmetic. In Atlanta Jackson charged that Reagan "took from the poor, gave to the rich, paid for by the middle class." As a nod to Bentsen, Jackson even included the right-wing and the "hawk" in his litany of groups that must work together to achieve their goals. But it was the gracious gesture, not the consistency of the metaphor, that counted.

"Diametrically opposed"? Near the end of the campaign, Jackson portrayed himself as a radical and Dukakis as a timid reformer—a "manager." Many political analysts accept this characterization. Indeed, Bill Galston, Mondale's political director in 1984, saw the two candidates' approaches as "diametrically opposed."

There is a sharp contrast in the two candidates' rhetoric and in the sentiments they bring to politics. Jackson is a populist who defends the have-nots and decries the haves. Dukakis is not. He hates waste and corruption, but he does not reach out emotionally to the poor and infirm, or angrily denounce the rich and powerful. Jackson's advisers are also probably to the left of Dukakis'. But it is still misleading at this point to draw this kind of contrast between the two men.

Because of his moral outrage and populist rhetoric, Jackson has always appeared to be more radical than he really is. When bargaining time came at this convention Jackson agitated for set-asides for minority businesses rather than broader reforms like public investment banks. Dukakis has shown a proclivity to listen to conservative economists like Lawrence Summers, but he has been the most innovative and liberal governor of his generation (see story on page 6). Heather Booth expresses this uncertain but positive assessment of Dukakis. "Dukakis is a politician with whom we've had a dynamic relationship," she says.

The best way to understand Dukakis is to contrast his politics with those of John Ken-

nedy, Hubert Humphrey and other Cold-War liberals. Like the older liberals, Dukakis emphasizes government as an instrument of social justice. But Dukakis does not share the older liberals' preoccupation with the Cold War. He sees social and economic issues as fundamental, and the struggle against communism as either irrelevant or secondary.

Dukakis also does not share the older liberals' faith in Keynesian macro-economics. He recognizes that budget deficits are now as likely to create jobs overseas as jobs at home. He favors much more specific government intervention than the older liberals ever contemplated—exacting "quid pro quos" from industries in exchange for subsidies or trade relief.

During the convention the Dukakis campaign's strategy, evidenced most clearly in the platform debate, was to avoid thorny political issues like taxes and nuclear first-use that might embarrass the candidate in the fall. But the campaign also used the convention to establish the themes on which Dukakis and other Democrats will run. These themes reflected Dukakis' post-Cold War, post-Keynesian liberalism.

In workshops, politicians and political consultants stressed that Democrats should focus on economic and social issues rather than Cold War or military issues. According to Paul Maslin, who did polling for the Democratic Congressional Committee, Democratic "swing voters," who describe themselves as "moderate" or "conservative" and voted primarily for Ronald Reagan in 1984, ranked "U.S.-Soviet relations 10th and Central American policy 12th of 13 issues that they found most important. Education, health care, jobs and drugs were at the top of the list. "The public is not concerned about military weakness, but economic weakness," pollster Stanley Greenberg said.

According to the Democratic pollsters, even voters who are enjoying prosperity today are worried about the future. "They are deeply anxious about the future facing their families, kids and country, and worried that, as a society, we have lost a sense of control over our lives and our chances for prosperity in the coming years," Greenberg wrote in a paper handed out at a workshop. In 1988, Democrats are trying to speak to voters' economic insecurity—stressing Democratic support for plant-closing notification and trade policy. Democrats are also stressing what Greenberg has called the "politics of kids," emphasizing education, childcare, drug prevention and parental leave.

This approach was reflected not only in workshops but also in the major convention presentations. Prime time was dominated by state officials like Texas State Treasurer Ann Richards, Michigan Gov. James Blanchard and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton talking about economic and domestic concerns rather than foreign-policy issues.

In his acceptance speech, Dukakis echoed these priorities. He hit all the points on the Democrats' domestic agenda: family, kids, childcare, jobs, plant closing, health care and housing. He devoted less than 5 percent of his speech to foreign policy. This election, he said, "is not about overthrowing governments in Central America. It is about creating jobs in middle America."

Dukakis' speech was a success, supplanting Jackson's Tuesday oration in delegates' memory and establishing Dukakis as a formidable candidate in the fall. But its success

had little to do with its political themes and programs. Many of the political statements were simply campaign boilerplate.

Dukakis achieved his oratorical success through interjecting himself into his speech and through playing upon the voters' mythic reminiscences. Dukakis hailed his 75-year-old immigrant mother and memorialized (in a choking voice) his dead father, a successful obstetrician. Appealing to Democrats' vision of their golden age, he compared himself to John Kennedy and his ticket to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket of 1960.

Swing Democrats: Dukakis' choice of Bentsen—however poorly handled at the time—did not reflect Dukakis' conservatism, but rather his estimate of what he would have to do to win in November. Candidates pick vice presidents to enhance their political appeal rather than to succeed them in the event of death.

In 1988, as in 1960, most voters are not looking for dramatic change. The battle will be to capture the political center and the 11 to 12 percent of swing voters who backed Reagan in the last two elections but voted for Democrats in 1986. These Democrats like Reagan personally, and they probably supported his tax cuts and increases in military spending. They also wouldn't vote for someone like Sen. Edward Kennedy or Jesse Jackson. (During a local radio talk show after Jackson's speech, one typical "swing Democrat" complained that Jackson had mentioned 13 different "minorities" in his speech.) But these voters don't like the patrician Bush and sense the need for new economic policies.

Dukakis chose Bentsen, who backed both the Reagan tax cuts and military spending hikes, to strengthen his claim to the center. While the choice angered the party's left, it has already won over some swing Democrats like Maryland Gov. William Schaefer, who sat out the 1984 elections, to get behind Dukakis. Schaefer's support will be very important among conservative white Democrats in the Baltimore suburbs and Maryland's Eastern shore.

Dukakis' choice of Bentsen was also justified on geographical grounds. Dukakis should be able to hold his own in the Northeast and industrial Midwest. He had to pick a candidate from the South or the West. But Bentsen's disadvantage is that he comes from a Southern state where Bush is very strong.

The Bush campaign will try to use Dukakis' link to Jackson to scare away swing voters from the Democrats. Dukakis has to keep his distance from Jackson, but he also needs his rival's help among black voters. As one pollster quipped, a black voter is as likely to vote for Bush as a chicken would be likely to vote for Col. Saunders, but Jackson's enthusiastic support could increase black turnout in Dukakis' favor.

The state is therefore set for continuing confrontations between Dukakis and Jackson, as Dukakis tries to embrace Jackson at the same time as he keeps him at arm's length, and as Jackson tries to keep himself and his issues in the news.

On Friday after the convention Jackson appeared before his delegates with Dukakis. Even then he couldn't forsake a moment of tension. Jackson urged them to work for the ticket, but also promised to keep the "street heat" on Dukakis. But having raised the specter of disunity, Jackson quickly retreated. If enough new voters register, he said, "there'll be enough heat to cook our meat and enough heat to put George Bush out of the kitchen." □

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

FOR THOSE JACKSON DELEGATES WHOSE journey to Atlanta was fueled by their candidate's populist passions or the possibility of a black vice president, the convention's outcome was just another dream deferred. Most of them were attracted to the Jackson campaign's crusading character, so the triumph of Gov. Michael Dukakis' forces and the managerial mentality they embody was a bitter pill to swallow.

But for many other Jackson delegates, the convention represented an important stage in their movement toward political maturity. "We have been looking at the White House, the state house and all the others as *their* house," said Rev. Willie Barrow, a Jackson delegate and executive director of Operation PUSH. "But for the first time we're beginning to see that we are inside of the house." Barrow was also selected as a new officer in the Democratic National Committee (DNC), one of several new DNC positions—including one vice chairman—awarded to Jackson supporters.

The politics of inclusion is the new theme of Jackson's ongoing campaign. It's an odd theme for some of his more fervent followers, many of whom are more comfortable agitating or deriding conventional political wisdom. But Jackson has managed to harmonize most of those discordant notes.

The big boats: "Jackson was masterful in the way he rationalized his support for the Democratic ticket to his supporters," noted Heather Booth, a Dukakis delegate from Illinois and president of the public interest group, Citizen Action. "He explained what was won, placed it in historical context as part of a long-term strategy and outlined the inside-outside tactics his coalition will use to keep the party honest," she said.

His post-convention speeches have been filled with parabolic references to going out among "the big boats" and putting "suite heat as well as street heat" on public officials. While acknowledging his supporters' immediate disappointment, he urged them to keep their sights on the long view. He praised the ticket of Dukakis and Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen as one that could win and told a rally of his supporters he'd been promised "access to where policies are made and priorities are set."

Jackson successfully hushed his delegates' discontent, once again demonstrating his conciliatory skills. Jackson had quelled displeasure at the San Francisco convention in 1984, though he didn't seem to try nearly as hard. While his reputation as an agitator defines much of his public image, Jackson's greatest strength may be his ability to mediate.

"In some ways, Atlanta was a tour de force for Jackson," said Roger Wilkens, a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, a Washington-based think tank. "He worked out an agreement with top Democrats allowing for more input from his progressive spectrum into the policy and process of the party. And he still managed to keep his rather restless coalition together." The success of such an inside-outside strategy requires extraordinary powers of communication, however, and even Jackson may not be up to the task.

Favorite stepson: "I have to tarnish some of those images of Democratic unity at the convention, but I sensed a lot of discontent from Jackson delegates," said Illinois delegate Robert Starks, a Chicago organizer and

Political maturity's price: a dream deferred for the Jackson faction

longtime Jackson supporter. "A lot of people felt we should have pushed harder for the minority planks in the platform," he said.

"I have no doubt that the Palestinian self-determination and the tax-the-wealthy platforms would have passed," he added. "I'm pretty sure we could have carried Jesse for vice president if he had let it come up for a vote. Many of us returned home quite disappointed."

Starks' expression of displeasure finds few echoes in the Jackson camp in general, but in the unusually contentious Illinois delegation it has become a chorus. Illinois whites cast fewer primary votes for "favorite son"

mer.

"I think Jesse and Paul [Simon] have to get personally involved in ironing out these disagreements," said Booth. "The animosities run pretty deep and they're nowhere close to being resolved." Booth said the state is too important to allow unresolved disagreements to fester and threaten unified efforts in the fall election.

Anything gained? The desire for—or perhaps the smell of—a November victory is melding Democrats from across the ideological spectrum into a single-minded entity. While such a development epitomizes the "umbrella" ideal of the two-party system,

The politics of inclusion is the new theme of Jackson's ongoing campaign. Though many of his followers are more comfortable agitating or deriding conventional political wisdom, Jackson manages to harmonize most of those discordant notes.

Jackson than did whites in most other states. His agitating history with PUSH, the Chicago-based civil rights organization he founded in 1971, probably accounts for the white antipathy he provokes.

The tensions between Jackson delegates and those of that other favorite son, Sen. Paul Simon, were heightened during the convention when the state chairman refused to announce a resolution negotiated by the Jackson forces naming their man an "honorary favorite son." Those tensions still sim-

how does it help address the needs so graphically presented during the Jackson campaign?

Frank Watkins, Jackson's longtime aide and political director, said issues important to Jackson's constituency are higher on the priority list than they would have been had Jackson not run. "Jesse Jackson's political identity is not just Jackson the man," Watkins explained. "It also means a clearly defined movement. And when his supporters are placed in significant positions in the Demo-

cratic Party, that means the interests of the Jackson constituency are being protected."

Wilkens said there will be an ambitious integration of Jackson forces into posts on the Dukakis transition team, as well as into positions within the administration itself. "There are spots for Jesse's people throughout; and they'll participate at significant levels in all areas of the Dukakis administration, according to what I've heard."

Jackson has emerged from the convention both weaker and stronger. He's weaker because his bluff is empty: although Jackson had no conceivable option but to support the Democratic ticket, he bargained on the bluff that he might bolt the party or offer less than enthusiastic support. But since it is his constituency that would bear the inordinate burden of another Republican administration, a Jackson defection clearly was unlikely.

He's stronger because he's expanded his power base, debuted a mediagenic family and begun the process of institutionalizing his wing of the Democratic Party. Aside from his political significance, the Jackson saga is truly historic. Not since Booker T. Washington, at the turn of the century, has an African-American loomed so large in the public square. Jackson's far-flung social concerns, his eloquence and intelligence, his intimate connection to black America's religious core culture and his readiness to confront the white man on his own turf, has endeared him to the black community. And within that community, Jackson may very well be the most popular figure in history. □

Jesse Jackson and other black leaders continue to put "suite heat as well street heat" on public officials.





Massachusetts Miracle? Growth during the Dukakis years has caused an increasing number of scenes like this one in New Salem, Mass.

Dukakis on environment: deeds do not match words

By Dick Russell

BOSTON

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL election campaign, Michael Dukakis declared 1988 "the year of the environment." But would a President Dukakis muster the political will to face squarely the dimensions of a growing environmental crisis that's been virtually ignored by the Reagan administration? And would he be willing to make the sacrifices—economic and otherwise—needed to combat it?

Dukakis talks a good game. He has pledged a sweeping reform of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and enactment of an acid rain control bill. He has insisted that a clean environment and a thriving economy are intertwined, and rightfully attacked the "short-sighted and environmentally destructive management of our land and air and water" during the Reagan years. On energy matters, he has always pushed for tighter regulation of electric utilities and has held firm in his opposition to the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear power plant.

There is no doubt that Dukakis is vastly preferable to environmentalists than Vice President Bush, who is not likely to substantially alter President Reagan's approach. But environmentalists consider Dukakis' record during two terms as Massachusetts' governor mixed, at best. And they warn that his words often don't coincide with his

deeds.

Look at his own harbor:

• The words: "As governor of a coastal state like this one, I don't know of any natural resource that we have that is more important than the ocean and our coastlines."—Dukakis campaigning in New Jersey, May 29.

• The deeds: Boston Harbor, about one-half mile away from Dukakis' Statehouse doorstep, remains the most polluted harbor in the nation. The Massachusetts Water Resources Authority has finally begun to move on cleanup over the last two years, designating the site for a new sewage plant and ending needless procrastination over what level of treatment is appropriate. But such decisions could have been made over a decade ago. Instead, in 1978 the first Dukakis administration abandoned Massachusetts' earlier commitment to clean up the millions of gallons of nearly raw sewage dumped daily into the 50-square-mile harbor. In an effort to save money, the Dukakis administration filed an application for a waiver from federal cleanup requirements.

As the *Boston Phoenix* described the Harbor fiasco in its May 27 issue: "In a very real sense Dukakis is the principal culprit: he was governor when most of the critical decisions that have delayed the Boston Harbor cleanup were made. And it wasn't until the EPA had twice rejected the Dukakis' administration's proposal to take the cheap and easy way out

and a coalition of environmental groups had launched a federal court suit that the governor belatedly came to see the wisdom of complying with, rather than bucking, the provisions of the federal Clean Water Act."

Up in the (polluted) air:

• The words: According to a policy statement issued last spring, Dukakis plans to enact national standards for reducing emissions of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide that create acid rain. He also would use his presidential powers to issue a "finding" that acid rain is an interstate issue, thus requiring states that are major contributors to the problem to find solutions within three years.

• The deeds: It wasn't Gov. Dukakis but the governors of New York and Ohio who forged the first interstate effort to combat

There is no doubt that Dukakis is vastly preferable to environmentalists than Bush. But experts say that his environmental record as governor is mixed at best.

acid rain last May. And when it comes to other air pollution problems, the EPA has ordered Massachusetts to design a new plan to improve its air quality, citing the state's repeated failure to comply with federal standards for smog and carbon monoxide. Citing budgetary constraints, the Dukakis administration has held up new state smog-control

plans, along with other environment-related programs.

Late in June, the governor came under fire from local environmental groups after a bill was submitted, and passed, at his request to grant the town of Fall River a two-year deadline extension for placing air filters on its municipal incinerator. The bill was in lieu of state funding to help with the estimated \$26 million to \$28 million price tag for the air filters. As the governor's secretary of administration and finance, Frank Keefe, told the *Boston Globe*, the bill was "a courtesy to Fall River" and its mayor, Carlton Viveiros, an active fund-raiser for Dukakis' presidential campaign.

"We are just appalled that the governor could have gone along with this," says Priscilla Chapman, executive director of the New England branch of the Sierra Club. "Dukakis has made strong statements supporting a requirement in last year's Massachusetts solid-waste bill that all incinerators should have scrubbers installed and should only be allowed with state-of-the-art technology. So this contradicts everything his administration has been saying."

Wasted words?

• The words: Dukakis has stated that as president he would bring a "polluter pays" philosophy to the toxics crisis. He would establish a pilot program of voluntary, subsidized surveys of homes for environmental risks such as radon, pesticide residues and other harmful chemicals. He further intends to introduce a National Toxic Catastrophe Prevention Act that would require firms handling dangerous chemicals to improve accident-prevention programs. And he says he'd require safe disposal of hazardous, solid and radioactive wastes, while ensuring prompt cleanup of existing waste sites.

• The deeds: In a 1986 ballot initiative known as Question 4, Massachusetts voters called for the state to identify and clean up thousands of areas contaminated by hazardous wastes according to a set timetable. "Dukakis gave lukewarm support for this shortly before the election, but said there would have to be some fine-tuning," recalls John O'Connor, director of the Boston-based National Toxics Campaign. "After the initiative passed, in January 1987 he proposed legislation—which has since failed—to make the mandatory parts of the cleanup programs optional. He had a whole press conference saying he would improve Question 4 with these little changes, when in fact these were steps backward."

A \$100 million solid-waste program was touted as the cornerstone of the Dukakis administration's efforts to protect water supplies from leaking landfill contamination. But Amy Goldsmith, New England program director for the Clean Water Action Project, adds that "Dukakis' policy on solid waste looks good on paper, but wasn't being implemented or funded—even before the state budget crunch."

The cost of prosperity:

• The words: "Now the challenge for our generation of New Englanders is...to ensure that we use our economic strength not to destroy what is beautiful but to add to it; not to threaten our resources but to protect them; not to change God's landscape but to preserve and enhance it."—Dukakis, to the annual meeting of Save the Bay, Newport, R.I., March 1, 1987.

• The deeds: Dukakis' much-touted eco-

conomic "Massachusetts miracle" has not come without a price. Here is the way *Boston Globe* reporter Larry Tye recently described the "high cost of prosperity":

"You can see it as a rush of new construction devours 600 acres each week of Massachusetts farm land, forests and other open space...as development endangers drinking water supplies for Boston, Cape Cod and scores of other communities; and as the failure to plan for growth or rein in developers yields a patchwork of office parks, malls and housing tracts that despoil the landscape."

Twice since 1983, despite rhetorical support for the environment, Dukakis has sided with the developers on major controversies. His approval of one of these projects—a regional shopping mall in Attleboro that would have required filling in a swamp and paving over wetlands—was later halted by Reagan's EPA.

The latest battle centers around a proposed 1,000-acre condominium-park complex called Greylock Glen at the foot of Mount Greylock, the state's highest mountain and site of the state's largest conservation area. On July 1, the governor announced a compromise whereby the developer would cut back its number of condos from 1,275 to 850, guarantee public access to recreational facilities and consider ways to limit the destruction of wetlands and wildlife corridors.

But environmentalists who have long opposed any development on Mount Greylock remain uneasy, especially about the state's commitment of \$20 million in public funding for roads, recreational areas and open space at the site. "In a time of a supposed budget

crunch," as the Sierra Club's Chapman says, "the state can't pay for clean air in Fall River, but seems able to pour millions into a playground for the rich."

Questions of leadership:

• The words: His first step as president, says Dukakis, would be to "restore environmental leadership" by appointing an EPA administrator committed to enforcement of environmental laws.

• The deeds: The irony is that Michael DeLand, the EPA's regional administrator for New England under Reagan, has been stronger on many of Massachusetts' environmental concerns than Dukakis—forcing the state to move on the Boston Harbor cleanup, halting the Attleboro mall and saying that he might try to block the Mount Greylock development if it destroys wetlands.

Dukakis is considered a master at delegating authority, but James Hoyte, his secretary for environmental affairs since 1983, was widely regarded as being under the thumb of Alden Raine, the governor's special assistant for economic development. A week after the surfacing of the Fall River incinerator issue—where Hoyte was not even informed beforehand about the Dukakis-inspired legislation—Hoyte announced plans to leave his cabinet post by the end of the year, whether or not Dukakis wins the presidential election. (There was no public indication that these events were related.)

Positive signs: "If you got Dukakis by himself in a room and asked him a bunch of questions on the environment, I think his instincts would probably be correct on most of the issues," says Douglas Foy, director of

the Boston-based Conservation Law Foundation. "But what happened is that the louder, more forceful voices in his administration over the past six to eight years were on the economic development side of the table, and they carried the ball."

During his first term as governor (1975-78), things like Dukakis' stand opposing oil drilling on the Georges Bank fishing grounds even in the midst of the "energy crisis" won him raves from New England environmentalists. That luster dimmed considerably in the '80s during a second term and a half that Foy calls "quite remarkable in their poor performance." But over the past year, the situation has shown indications of a positive change, with several impressive new faces added to Dukakis' state environmental roster.

A 23-member environmental panel appointed by the governor came up with a series of proposals for Massachusetts in June. These included installing a temporary ban on construction of garbage incinerators, placing strict new controls on development and drastically increasing funds for restructured environmental agencies. Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, the panel chairman, concurred that much of this ran counter to Dukakis' own less stringent positions. But Tsongas added that when he briefed the governor's top aides on the report, they were "remarkably open minded and non-obstructionist." The point he is trying to get across to Dukakis and others, Tsongas said, is that "the greatest danger posed to our economy is people deciding the quality of life is not worth it here, and

taking their minds and technologies and companies and locating someplace else."

Maybe the message is getting through. In mid-July, Dukakis proposed legislation that would expand state authority to review the impact of development projects and prevent construction until the reviews. This legislation would make Massachusetts' environmental-review law one of the toughest in the nation.

If he becomes president, of course, Dukakis' choices are going to have much more wide-ranging implications. No president in U.S. history has faced the global ecological dilemmas that Dukakis would inherit—problems of potentially catastrophic dimensions, with no simple or easily-managed solutions, demanding new priorities for the economy and the ways people live.

More of the same, in the form of George Bush, would be a clear invitation for disaster. As for Dukakis, much has been written about the governor's ultra-pragmatic style—which may in fact be the source of the discrepancy between his words and deeds. It will take more than just self-confidence in his managerial ability to decide environmental issues by the time they reach his desk. Only a firm, deeply-held commitment to preserving the planet can overcome the inertia of a society that has long proceeded on an entirely different course. When it comes to the environmental crisis, whether the deeds of Michael Dukakis can begin to live up to the words may be the most crucial question of the '90s and beyond.

Dick Russell writes regularly for *In These Times* on environmental issues.

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THE BOSTON PHOENIX
February 26, 1988

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A resolution to the left's historical dilemma

Since the end of the New Deal coalition, in which the left played an indirect part through its influence in the labor movement, most American leftists have been confronted with a self-imposed dilemma. Seeing the Democratic and Republican parties as nearly indistinguishable partners in the Cold War and the militarization of the economy, people on the left—"Old," "New" and independent—have tended to avoid participation in major-party politics. Instead, some on the left have attempted to create popular third parties, while others have run token "educational" campaigns. These efforts succeeded only in confirming the left's marginality and in perpetuating its inability to influence the course of events. To those who have taken this path, the refusal to compromise their principles ruled out participation in what the vast majority of Americans understood as real politics. They faced a Catch-22: have influence at the cost of their principles or be loyal to their principles and remain irrelevant.

Others on the left escaped this dilemma by disdaining electoral activity altogether. They joined together in a range of social movements—peace, civil rights, feminist, environmental, community organizing—that put pressure on those in power. But they did not attempt to win power themselves. Over the past 40 years these movements have had varying degrees of success in swaying elected officials to respond to their demands. Yet none of the movements have been able to achieve their goals—in part because the political leadership of both major parties does not share their concerns or their principles, and in part because the movement's political clout has depended not only on their success in gaining the attention of the public, but also on their ability to keep their issues in the spotlight.

Limited success: This is an episodic process, one that—at best—has temporary success. The Nuclear Freeze Campaign is a good example of the limitations of such social movement pressure. Having seized on an issue that concerned millions of Americans, the Freeze organized a drive that won the support of some 70 percent of Americans for an end to the nuclear arms race. It was a heroic effort, and it enjoyed spectacular success in its organizing activity, so much so that it forced the Reagan administration to respond. But the administration did not share the aims of the Freeze organizers. It took the issue and ran with it, using it for its own ends. And despite the warming of relations with the Soviet Union, these have not included a moratorium on nuclear testing or on the development of new weapons systems, much less the demilitarization of the American economy.

What this illustrates is that the implementation of policy requires not only gaining popular support for an issue, but also being in a position to turn goals into a reality. This can be done only if those com-

mitted to the policy and the principles it embodies are in control of government, or are at least involved in the process of governing. And that can be accomplished only by participating in the political process that chooses those who govern. It is a lesson the left has had difficulty learning, but that it has been groping toward more or less steadily over the past 15 years. And, of course, it is the meaning of Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidency.

There are few people on the left who do not understand the historical breakthrough that the Jackson campaign represents—even those in the Democratic Party who did not support him recognize the campaign's significance. But there are some in and out of the Rainbow Coalition who have been swept along by Jackson's effort but who now are again bowing out of party politics. To these leftists, the Jackson campaign was only a tactic, and having made a good show, they plan to resume "real" politics outside the mainstream. For them, the nomination of Lloyd Bentsen for vice president and the refusal of Dukakis to accept several of the Jackson planks in the platform constitute proof that commitment to transforming the Democratic Party is a blind alley.

But what is the alternative? The American political system, in which the chief executive is elected directly by the people, rather than by members of the legislature—as in Canada and most of Europe—has evolved as an institutionalized two-party system. If the left withdraws from participation in that system it will not change the result, except possibly for the worse. All of the major constituencies for a left politics—the labor movement, women, blacks and Hispanics—if they are at all political have understood the need to work to achieve their demands using real power and influence. They are not interested in token campaigns or in abstract principles unconnected to any possibility of realization. And they have succeeded in large part in forcing open the Democratic Party so that it is possible for anyone or any group to participate and win positions of leadership.

But this is a long-term process. Instant success—the American dream and disease—is not the way it works. And a long-term process requires a long-term commitment. As Jackson told his followers just after the Democratic convention, "Our status is simple: expand our options without tearing up the party." That doesn't mean accepting things as they are. It does mean working to change things in a responsible way, so that when—or if—the left becomes the majority within the party it will have grounds for demanding the support of the minority.

As Jackson noted, changes have been forced on the party by his success. In the nominating process in 1992, the superdelegates will no longer be able to impose their will on the party against that of the elected delegates, as did those from Delaware, Virginia, Georgia and Alabama at this year's convention. In addition, the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee has been expanded from 25 to 33 and the eight new positions given to Jackson supporters. Jackson has not only asked his followers to support this ticket, he has also urged them to run for every office open to Democrats, within the party structure and outside. In that process lies the best hope for the left in the near term.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

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This issue (Vol. 12, No. 31) published Aug. 3, 1988, for newsstand sales Aug. 3-16, 1988.

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION

GNU

LETTERS

Brawley imbroglio

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S ARTICLE ON THE BRAWLEY case (*ITT*, July 6) provides readers with information on the diverse black leadership responses our metropolitan papers have denied us. So, too, has New York's only "full-service" black radio station, WLJB, which runs day-long, totally uncritical pro-Sharpton-Maddox-Mason programming, frequently featuring the "trio" ensemble, or in ones and twos. Area papers have reported some black elected officials' hostility to Sharpton's record and criticism of the trio's vituperative attacks on Gov. Cuomo and the state attorney-general. (Why were black elected officials not mentioned by Muwakkil?) Sharpton has referred to His Excellency the Governor as a "racist cracker" and they have even reported that the attorney general masturbated "over" a half-naked picture of Ms. Brawley.

The trio does not want this issue to be "taken over" by the judicial system because they are using this traumatic case—which points to some "irregularities," at least, in Dutchess County justice—to establish themselves as the arbiters of black politics in this state. They have a specific political goal in this case—omitted by Muwakkil—to establish a permanent special state prosecutor for "race-related" violence.

This position is supported by several black legislators led by state Sen. David Patterson (son of Basil, "dean" of black politicians in New York).

Gov. Cuomo is strongly against this idea, and I think he is right. As long as we have partisan, elected district attorneys, the establishment of a permanent prosecutor for Afro-Americans (appealing to nationalist-separatists) would further marginalize black citizens in those counties where blacks are a huge majority. This would give official sanction to the "theory" that local administration of justice can not—as opposed to does not—deal with Afro-Americans as equal citizens. Special prosecutors should be reserved for special cases, which—in New York of recent years—have been appallingly common.

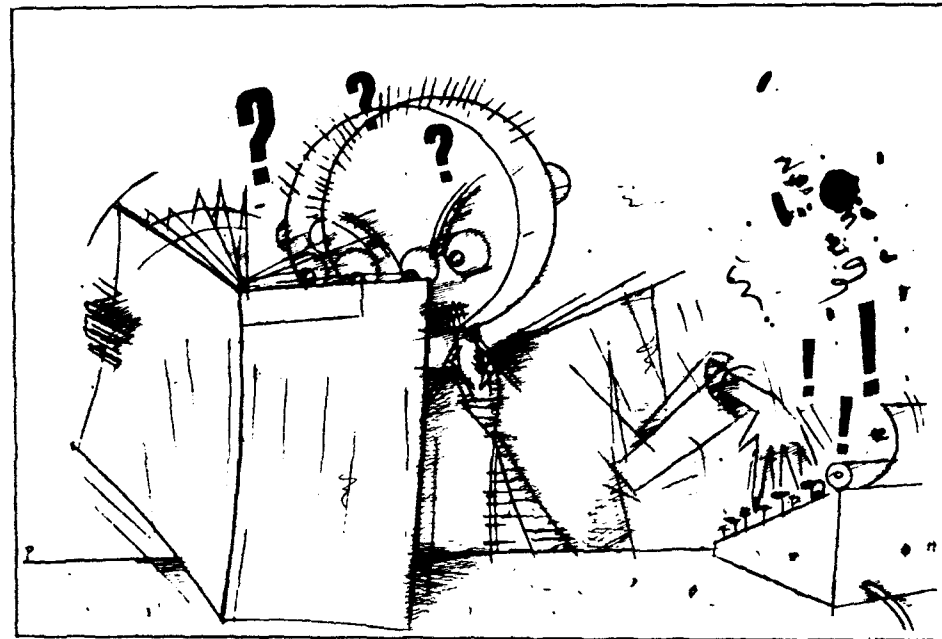
Noël St-Cyr
Huntington, N.Y.

Missing

YOUR EDITORIAL ON THE JACKSON CAMPAIGN (*ITT*, July 6) summarizes "what the Jackson campaign accomplished and what that means to the left." Perhaps what you miss in the Jackson campaign, the failure to develop a total governing plan, is what is missing in the entire left politics.

Jackson deserves great credit for his fight against racism and ethnic prejudice. Jackson helped to make the equal rights philosophy of our political system apply to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, women, Greeks, Catholics and Armenians. However, while racial or ethnic prejudice is a sickness we have to overcome, that is not the end of our governing problems.

Jackson's campaign platform answers the needs of many, but it merely changes distribution. It leaves an economic vacuum and ignores the real serious problems: reconstruction of industry; direction of investments into internal extension; enlargement of the domestic market demand by changing the tax system from sales or user to



income; the need of a foreign policy of peace and defense instead of war and offense; and help for our neighbors in developing their economy, thereby increasing our export.

Whether Michael Dukakis understands the needs of the U.S. or not, the problems will not go away, nor can they be accomplished in short term. If anyone has a political future it must be to develop measures that answer our economic and political problems and to get our people to understand them.

Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

Green Revolution

I'M GLAD MICHAEL GOLDMAN FOUND IT WORTH-while to respond to my April 20 article on India's Green Revolution (*ITT*, May 18). Unfortunately, I think he falsified India's political realities. At the risk of straying a bit from the original subject matter I'd like to suggest to *In These Times* readers a more fruitful understanding of Indian society.

Goldman is right to point out that the Green Revolution has created a class of wealthy farmers quite distinct from the mass of peasantry, whose lot is little better than it was 30 years ago.

But to say that this amounts to the creation of rural "capitalists" and "proletarians," and that the struggle between these two "classes" is or should be the engine of Indian politics, is off the mark. Except in a few large cities, class-consciousness does not exist here; people think of themselves as members of a particular caste, religion or language group. The oppressions and exploitations arising from these social distinctions are every bit as real as those arising from economic causes, and a great deal more vivid in people's minds. Certainly,

class tensions exist, but within a social web spun principally out of caste and religion.

The relations of class, caste and religion in Indian politics are too complicated to trace here. I have made a brief survey in a forthcoming report from India scheduled for the summer 1988 issue of *Dissent*. Readers interested in these problems should consult Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph's *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), an elegant distillation of two lifetimes of research on Indian mass and elite politics.

It is true, as Goldman says, that the Green Revolution has led to increased exploitation of agricultural labor and degradation of the environment. But it also fed people. India nearly starved two decades ago; now it feeds itself. I am at a loss to imagine how this turnabout could have been achieved by other means. The task is not to turn our backs on the technology and "agricultural strategies" that Goldman disparages, but to reap their benefits while minimizing the bad social and environmental side-effects.

Arthur R. Kroeber
New Delhi

The master at work

I WAS SHOCKED TO READ YOUR EDITORIAL, "A Summit meeting at which everybody wins" (*ITT*, June 8) praising Ronald Reagan's "first rate" performance and "masterful" speeches at the summit. I would have expected more critical analysis from the local daily.

If you think that Reagan has mellowed into some kind of peacenik, please explain (1) why he stonewalled 18 months of unilat-

eral test moratorium by the Soviets and still will not consider a test ban; (2) why he insists on making SDI non-negotiable, though this obviously makes impossible the kind of mutual disarmament he pretends to seek; (3) why he balks at signing a little innocuous language favoring "peaceful co-existence"; (4) why he encourages his Pakistanis and his Mujahedeen to make Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan costly and humiliating (is this a way to treat a new "friend"—especially when he is trying to do what we presumably want him to do?); and (5) why he has not withdrawn the "Reagan Doctrine," which commits us to try to bring about the violent overthrow of every left-of-center government on Earth.

My theory is that Reagan's aim is just what it always was: a plutocratic world dominated by U.S. plutocrats and maintaining a military force capable of crushing any efforts toward a more egalitarian society. I think he has concluded that this can best be achieved by combining U.S. militarization of space (SDI) with covert low-intensity war against non-cooperative governments (Reagan Doctrine). From that standpoint, giving up a few intermediate range ground-based missiles is a cheap and easy sop to throw to the peace vote—and may even enhance the advantage given by space-based weaponry.

I think Reagan's performance was a masterpiece—of duplicity, hypocrisy and arrogance.

Laurent B. Frantz
Palo Alto, Calif.

Editor's note: A masterpiece is masterful in our book

Wrong actress

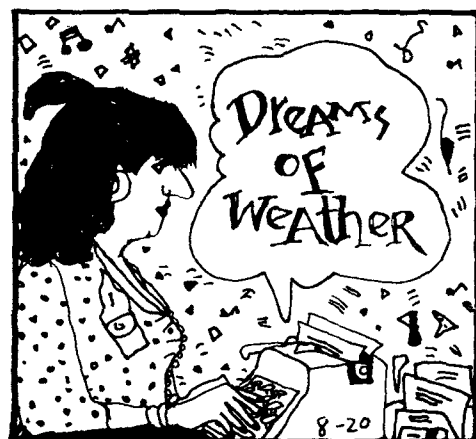
YOUR REVIEW OF ELIA KAZAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY did a fine job of showing how self-serving it is. The photo with it, however, purported to show the Broadway cast of *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Vivien Leigh was in the film version, all right, but I thought Jessica Tandy played Blanche on stage. Who's right?

Fenwick Anderson
New Haven, Conn.

Editor's note: Oops! You got it, Fenwick. The photo we reproduced from the Kazan book was actually the film cast of *Streetcar*.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space your letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



I DREAMT that the destruction of the ozone layer caused the weather to change drastically. First drought and then floods. I was building a little raft for my cat when the president stopped by and said: "Let's wait until all the evidence is in before we change our environmental policies." My therapist says the dream shows I have trouble with authority figures.

by Nicole Hollander

By Tim Wohlforth

IT HAS TAKEN THE '60S GENERATION 20 years to sort out its thinking and evaluate that period with some historical perspective. The Reagan era, which contrasts so strongly with the '60s, provides the political setting that encouraged a number of writers to come out with books on the '60s. This gives all these books their wistful quality. Each author, in his or her own way, tells us that the '60s was the period when life was lived intensely, when the politics, the methods of thought, the morality of a generation were shaped.

Maurice Isserman's book, *If I Had a Hammer... The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (In These Times, Nov. 18, 1987), is an account of the generation preceding the '60s. It is certainly not hard to show the discontinuities between the two periods. The collapse of the Communist Party, the dominant left party since the '20s, created the conditions for the emergence of a New Left student movement in the '60s. Isserman's account of the crisis of the Communist Party provoked by the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the disintegration of a shrunken and isolated party is adequate, but is not the strongest part of his book. Others have written in more detail on the Communist Party crisis and much work remains to be done.

It is necessary to place the crisis of communism within its international framework in order to clarify what is unique about the American experience and what experiences we shared with other countries. All Communist parties were thrown into crisis in 1956. In each country dissident radical currents, made up of former Communists, sought to create a New Left. The distinctive character of this process in the U.S. was the isolation of the Communists who had been marginalized after World War II by an intense witch hunt and national prosperity. A new left—made up largely of ex-Communists (the journal *Studies on the Left*, published in Madison, Wis., was the best example of this trend)—was quite weak, and only a trickle of former Communists joined

Was the triumph of '60s madness inevitable?

the ranks of the dissident Old Left, made up primarily of Trotskyists. By way of contrast, the crisis of the British Communists produced a more intellectually vital New Left—the best examples were E.P. Thompson's *The New Reasoner*, and Perry Anderson's *New Left Review*—and many former Communists strengthened the small Trotskyist groups.

What is fascinating, yet barely explored in several recent books on the left, is the continuity that existed between Old and New Lefts through the minds and bodies of the children of Communists and "Progressives." Red and pink diaper babies played important roles on all levels of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). These young radicals were influenced by the thinking in their homes as they became conscious beings. During the '50s most Communist and ex-Communist parents wished to protect their children from the hounding they had faced. They brought up their children as socially conscious liberals, not as educated Marxists or party people. These children shared a common mood, an ethos, rather than a theoretical heritage.

These red diaper babies brought SDS a strong sense of commitment to democracy combined with a deep hostility to anti-communism that suggested witch hunting. While almost all these children rejected the Soviet Union as a model—something many of their parents had done—they also rejected the Cold War and resisted lining up with the U.S. internationally. Most were uninterested in probing the question of communism and its history, believing that issue was behind them. They tended to have only a rudimentary knowledge of Marxist theories, but to be well acquainted with C. Wright Mills.

Isserman: The bulk of Maurice Isserman's book is devoted to the dissident left circles influenced by Max Shachtman. Shachtman

was a follower of Leon Trotsky who broke away from mainstream Trotskyism in 1940. He held that the USSR represented a new form of class rule, while Trotsky continued to maintain that it was a "workers' state," though "degenerated." Shachtman had influence considerably beyond his group's small membership. He had links, though largely historical, with intellectuals like James T. Farrell, the *Partisan Review* crowd, Harvey Swados, Dwight Macdonald and former member Irving Howe, who published *Dissent*. Radical pacifists like A.J. Muste, Bayard Rustin and Dave Dellinger were also influenced by the Shachtmanite world outlook, which promoted the notion that socialism and democracy were indissolubly linked. This gave them important moral as well as political capital.

The Shachtmanites seemed well positioned to replace the Communist Party on the Old Left and to influence the new generation of '60s student radicals. Yet this did not happen. In 1957 Shachtman proposed unification with the Socialist Party and published a pamphlet suggesting that those breaking from the Communist Party join in this project.

But the Socialist Party leaders had become embittered anti-Communists who had thrown their lot in with the "West." They were not even willing to join discussions with dissident Communists. Shachtman endorsed this position. By the time he was finally allowed to join the Socialist Party, the former Trotskyist had become an embittered anti-Communist supporting American foreign policy, including the invasion of Cuba and the Vietnam War.

It is therefore understandable why this section of the Old Left had so little impact on the New Left. Neither orthodoxy nor "Leninism" stood in the way, but Shachtman's move in the opposite direction of the new student radicals. He had come to exemplify what the students opposed. Even Irving Howe, whose journal *Dissent* was respected by the new SDS leaders, and who did not move as far to the right as Shachtman, let his bitter anti-Communism blind him in his relations with the New Left. He was not able to appreciate the group's sincere dedication to democratic values and its disavowal of the Soviet model.

The radicalism of the '60s might have taken a different course if the Old Left crisis had produced a socialist left critical of American domestic and foreign policy. It would be wrong to place all the blame for this failure on Shachtman and the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. After all, the John Gates group had a clear majority before it broke with the Communist Party, but it didn't create an organization afterward. The Gates faction was built on the sand of a disintegrating membership made up largely of people leaving left politics. This suggests that the party had been decomposing beneath the surface for the decade before the Hungarian uprising, with many members remaining out of habit, tradition and personal ties, rather than conviction. It was a generation that had done its thing and was largely spent.

Some of these former Communists might have remained politically active if they had seen something viable. But the creation of a new party would have been very difficult. The Gates leaders had neither the energy nor the perspective for such an endeavor, and they got no help from others.

There is a gaping hole in Isserman's analysis of the '50s: the lack of a discussion of the mainstream Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This is due to a general New Left prejudice against any elements of continuity between Old and New Left. The SWP had done a better job of surviving the '50s than the Shachtman group and therefore had a larger organization and a better apparatus. More important was its formation of a youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance. I was the first national secretary of that organization, so I freely admit to a possible prejudice in its favor. The YSA was a small but effective organization when the '60s student radicalization began. It permitted the SWP to play a major role in organizing the anti-war movement throughout these years.

Enter the New Left: There are now two books out on SDS: Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties* (ITT, Dec. 9, 1987) and James Miller's *Democracy Is in the Streets* (ITT, Sept. 30, 1987). The books are very different and complement each other. Gitlin, who was once president of SDS, combines a memoir with an attempt to portray in broad strokes the mood and events of the '60s. While he does not completely succeed—is it possible to capture the '60s in a single book?—he comes closer to capturing the spirit of the '60s than any other writer I have come across. This task requires more than empirical description—and Gitlin does his best to bring back the ambience, the personality of the period, as the main actors of the left felt it.

Gitlin describes well the radicalization of SDS, which began in 1964. He places considerable emphasis on Lyndon Johnson's and Hubert Humphrey's maneuvers at that year's Democratic Party Convention, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegation was refused seating. The MFDP issue destroyed SDS leaders' belief that the Democratic Party was a potential vehicle for positive domestic social change. The intensification of American involvement in the Vietnam War, conducted by a Democratic administration, deepened the gulf between SDS and the liberal wing of the American political system. A group that had only two or three years earlier viewed itself as a kind of intellectual gadfly, the conscience of the liberal reform movement, became a confrontational opponent of a state now headed by avowedly liberal Democrats.

What is most interesting is how swiftly radicalization and confrontation shifted to a mood of despair that in turn encouraged, beginning in 1968, counterproductive adventures. Gitlin describes how many in SDS became convinced that their actions were having absolutely no impact on government policy precisely when anti-war sentiment had grown so powerful within the country that American withdrawal from Vietnam was becoming inevitable. Gitlin does not appear to understand that this disorientation, which set the scene for what he aptly calls the "implosion" of SDS, had its roots in the decision of the SDS leadership to abandon national anti-war protests after

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1965.

Luckily for the left as a whole, others took up the fight to build the militant mass anti-war movement that SDS had initiated and abandoned. The key forces involved in sustaining the coalitions that organized these demonstrations were the Old Left—the SWP, pacifists and, to a lesser degree, the Communist Party.

Miller's book is a useful supplement to Gitlin's, particularly in its excellent description of the non Marxist roots of the SDS ideology of "participatory democracy." This notion of a richer grass-roots-based, more direct form of democratic society had great appeal to students in the '60s. It gave form to their inchoate feelings of alienation in a bureaucratized corporate society. It also placed the New Left within the American tradition of populist democratic radicalism, something the Old Left had not been able to accomplish.

But this is only part of the role of participatory democracy within SDS. Miller details how this nation, when translated into a semi-anarchistic resistance to coherent structure and leadership responsibility contributed to SDS's "implosion." At the moment of its greatest growth—membership expanded from 8,000 in 1964-65 to 60,000-100,000 in 1968-69—SDS had already begun to disintegrate at the center.

Both Gitlin and Miller fail to explain the implosion and do not even attempt to explore what might have been done to prevent it. Miller devotes too little space to the problem, while Gitlin does a fine job of describing the political mood of despair and wild, violent revolutionism that swept through SDS as revivals swept through early 19th-century rural America. Gitlin deplores

the mad sectarianism, strident "Marxism-Leninism," the downright stupidity of the period.

But was the triumph of madness inevitable? Is it all to be blamed on an invasion of body snatchers from the Old Left? Or to pose it bluntly: where in the world were the old SDS leaders when this was all going on? What alternatives did they have to offer at the time?

I am aware of being a "Monday morning quarterback." I was around at the time and what I had to say then was as off the wall and sectarian as the antics of SDS leaders. Those of us who were there in 1968 remember the mood. How could one avoid a millenarian dream or two during a year marked by the Tet Offensive, the Prague Spring, the May-June Days in France, the Mexican student demonstrations and the occupation of Columbia?

What happened to the left after 1968 was more than a misguided dream or two. Momentary impressions can be adjusted in the light of experience in a movement capable of self-correction through internal discussion. The problem was that the movement itself was destroyed almost overnight. Was this inevitable or was there an alternative road for SDS and, most important, its graduates, a road that was practical at that time?

The implosion of SDS occurred at its 1969 convention when the Worker-Student Alliance faction led by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) won a majority of the delegates. Opposition to the PLP was split into two factions: Revolutionary Youth Movement I and Revolutionary Youth Movement II. RYM I—known as the Weathermen—soon became underground terrorists. RYM II—led by Bob

Avakian and Mike Klonsky—spawned a series of Maoist "Marxist-Leninist" sects, including the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

The old mainstream leadership of SDS was not only physically absent but no voice reflected its outlook. I cannot think of another example of an organization where the founding generation of leaders had such little impact on their organization four or five years later.

It is insufficient to blame the implosion totally on the PLP. One must ask the question why the PLP was so successful within SDS that it not only gained a majority at a convention but forced the opposition to mimic its "Marxist-Leninism." It was a deeper matter than good organization. PLP swept through SDS because it represented an alternative, a way forward for students seeking to build a permanent left movement in the U.S. PLP identified the working class as the force capable of bringing socialism to America; it popularized the classical Marxist methodology and scenario; it counterpoised party organization to the paralysis of consensus anarchy. This alternative was certainly *not* correct. While the natural constituency for socialist ideas in the U.S. must include the traditional working class, it requires the broader definition of class that some older SDS leaders had earlier suggested. But the PLP at least had a perspective.

What could have been proposed in 1969? It is now clear to me that a broad socialist organization in the Debsian tradition was needed—something staunchly anti-imperialist, radically democratic and pluralistic, a bit messy and sloppy internally, capable of absorbing and reflecting the left ac-

tivists as they and their movements evolved. Such a group would have been a home for black activists, the resurgent feminist movement and militants from the trade unions. It would have been capable of "greening" as the ecology movement developed. Yes, it would have been somewhat like the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—launched more than a decade later—but positioned to its left, reflecting the political temper of the '60s.

Let us continue for a moment with our dreamy speculations in the realm of the "could have been." If the New Left had consciously negated the Old Left—that is, had studied its history and thought through where it had gone wrong, rather than simply turning its back on that experience—it might have been able to educate a new generation. Instead, the ignored questions simply burst forth a few years later as a new generation rediscovered "Marxism-Leninism." To paraphrase Marx from the *18th Brumaire*, the second time around it was true farce. The first generation of SDS leaders had some responsibility for this appalling backwardness.

Let us hope that the new student movement now coming into being on campuses will learn these lessons from the past. Unlike the '60s generation, today's student does not reject the preceding generation of radicals. Today the danger lies in the possibility that these students will seek uncritically to emulate the '60s radicals. This new New Left needs to break through the mystique of the '60s, by looking at that period critically, in order to go beyond its fatal limitations.

Tim Wohlforth is presently working on a memoir entitled *The Prophet's Children*.

By James Petras

A SPACE OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES HAS recently been published purporting to discuss the "New Left" and the student movement of the '60s. Most or all of those writing assume that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) played a dominant role in the New Left student movement during the '60s. SDS was active on a great number of campuses, and many of its members were involved in some of the major political demonstrations. But SDS did not play a major role in the most significant student demonstrations in Berkeley, which was the largest and most militant anti-Vietnam War activity, or in the most consequential civil rights struggles.

The University of California at Berkeley was the scene of several massive protest movements from 1962 to 1967 and thereafter. In the early '60s student protest against U.S. policy toward Cuba was organized mainly by a coalition of left-socialists and non-affiliated radicals. In the massive civil rights mobilization against discrimination in hiring at local hotels, bars, restaurants, automobile showrooms and supermarkets involving thousands of demonstrators and hundreds of arrests, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and a local ad hoc committee provided the dominant leadership and included many left-socialists and Communists as well as independent militants and activists.

The Berkeley Free Speech movement culminated in a massive student general strike—involving more than 25,000 stu-

New Left histories exaggerate the role of SDS

dents, close to 1,000 of whom were arrested—that closed the University of California for 92 hours. It was led by a broad coalition of independent civil libertarian activists, left socialists, Communists and Democrats. (Naturally, the handful of SDS members at Berkeley also became involved in the protests.) The Vietnam Day teach-ins in 1965 involving 15,000 students was led by a coalition of independent New Left and socialist activists. The demonstration that stopped a troop train in the Bay Area was led by a similar coalition. SDS did not figure in the leadership of any of these nationally significant activities, nor did it provide the programmatic, educational or ideological basis for the activities. The belated efforts by Tom Hayden to parachute into Berkeley were rejected for what they were: a publicity grab for activities organized by others.

In Berkeley and the Bay Area the political groups and individuals that played a significant role were either members of or close to the Independent Socialists or the Communist Party. The bulk of the leaders and activists were vaguely "new left." SDS was notable for its absence. Similarly, in the large-scale demonstrations against the Vietnam War in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles after 1965, SDS was elsewhere.

While millions demonstrated against the war, SDS leaders turned toward community organizing (with very mixed results) and then ultra-left skirmishing with the police.

In the Civil Rights Movement, SDS played a very marginal role, North and South: it was a negligible force in the Bay Area and on the West Coast during the early and mid-'60s, and later was largely a support group for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panthers.

Nor was SDS breaking new political ground for the radicalizing student activists. In 1964, in the midst of the preparations for massive direct action, some SDS leaders took the line of going "part of the way with LBJ," of joining the right wing of the old guard Socialist Party in support of Lyndon "Bombs Away" Johnson. In the student struggle at Berkeley, internationally recognized as the key detonator for the national student movement, Hal Draper's *The Mind of Clark Kerr*, Marvin Garson's *The Regents*, Barbara Garson's *McBird* and a host of local publications were far more important than the Port Huron statement in forming the political outlook of the participants.

If SDS was organizationally absent from the most significant student struggles and

mobilizations, and if its programmatic statement was irrelevant in the most dynamic student centers, what accounts for the myth equating SDS and the student movement of the '60s?

Several factors come to mind. Many of the accounts of the '60s have been written by ex-SDSers turned professors or journalists. Their self-serving accounts tend to magnify their activities, internal debates and programmatic statements, thus imputing greater significance to their roles. By inflating the role of SDS these authors also gain credibility as authorities and as knowledgeable "inside dopesters." The mass media have also focused on SDS, particularly during its ultra-radical period in the late '60s. The media amalgamated the SDS ultras and their shrill sectarian politics with the New Left student movement as a whole, for obvious propaganda purposes. The result has been a major falsification of the politics, organization and ideology of the '60s movement.

To see the '60s New Left student movement through the prism of SDS is to lose sight of the vital role that was played by organized and committed socialists, along with unaffiliated radicals. More important, not having passed through the bizarre internal struggles and the anti-intellectualism that became the hallmark of the SDS in the late '60s, many of the leftists of that period have no need to join the ex-SDSers turned repentant liberals in the 1980s.

James Petras is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Binghamton.

The Empty Silence

The strangest thing about the Democrats' political convention in Atlanta was the sense of utter isolation from the normal ingredients of political life. Everything—Gorbachov, NATO, the corrupt arms contractors, Nicaragua, death squads in El Salvador, the CIA, control of the economy, insurance companies, landlords, toxic waste, empowerment of ordinary citizens—vanishes and is replaced by about three operating clichés, repeated thousands and thousands of times until I would drift off to sleep in my Holiday Inn bed with their cadences still squirreling away at my synapses: "Make America No. 1 again... Invest in our youth... Curb the monstrous deficit."

In four days sitting in the Omni auditorium I don't think I heard anything resembling a realistic description of what is going on in the world today, even in simple silhouette. Language ceases to be an instrument of intelligent communication and becomes rather a kind of inchoate, dispiriting odor, like the smell you get these days from opening up a glossy magazine.

The level to which the rhetorical poverty line has sunk is almost beyond belief and should excite pity in the hardest heart. Many of the nation's most prominent politicians support themselves with as few as one idea (make America great/ make way for competence/ make life hard for Bush) and one joke. Sample from Edward Kennedy: "Some people say—don't count your chickens before they're hatched. Well, the Republicans have already hatched their chickens this campaign—and George Bush is a dead duck."

The reason for this desperate state of affairs lies not in the fact that several thousand citizens had suddenly lost the power of substantive thought or speech, but that they feared the slightest manifestation of intelligent discussion of the issues of the day would provoke the far-larger number of journalists in attendance to start denouncing the convention as a typically infantile Democratic zoo, of the sort that nominated George McGovern in Miami in 1972. Having thus induced the panic-stricken Democrats to avoid saying anything interesting, the journalists duly—in the manner of Roone Arledge of ABC—denounce the convention as boring and demand that in future it be confined to four hours prime-time viewing across—at most—two nights between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m.

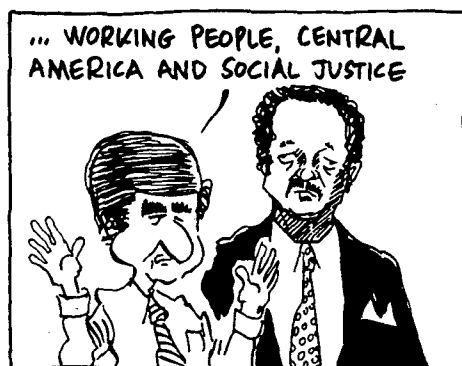
Jesse's Role: Street Heat and Power

But what about Jesse Jackson's performance, you might ask. His vocabulary before the convention, with its phraseology about "balling up" the black vote and taking it up to the big house, seemed to me to be patronizing to the point of racism; very objectionable, unless you argue that there was a Brechtian objectivity in Jackson's parodic account of what the white bosses wanted him, as underboss, to do. About half his speech seemed to be very fine, always excepting the appalling nonsense that needing two wings to fly and the hawk laying down with the dove. No bird I've ever heard of flew with wings of different size, trying to flap at different speeds. Most sensible doves would never dream of going to bed with a hawk.

This was an effort of Jackson to sketch the dialectics of unity and coalition. He did a much better job in the morning after Mike

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



Dukakis' speech accepting the Democratic nomination. At breakfast time 1,200 Jackson delegates, most of them running on three hours sleep for the fourth night in a row, gathered in a Marriott Marquis hall for a meeting with Jackson. Finally Jackson walked in with Dukakis and Bentsen, to argue the case for working with the ticket, for working within the Democratic Party, for accepting Bentsen without terminal uproar, and to show Dukakis and Bentsen that here were 1,200 activists with minds of their own.

The rhetoric was more relaxed than the prime-time style as Jackson, in front of Dukakis and Bentsen, made his case for a dialectical relationship to power: "close enough to serve, far enough to challenge." Martin Luther King, Jackson said, had asked Lyndon Johnson to put through civil rights legislation and Johnson told him that he could never get it through Congress. Then came the marches and the violence and Johnson moved. So there were the ingredients of change, Jackson said: "The White House on the one hand and street heat on the other." Each time Jackson played with the idea of "street heat" the delegates roared and Dukakis, Bentsen and Paul Kirk creased their faces into somewhat strained jocularity at the idea of this heat. Then they took themselves off to a victory breakfast the other side of the hall and Jackson started talking about the practical consequences of this position of qualified support for a Dukakis/Bentsen ticket. With Bentsen the running mate, he said, there was now one less vote for contra aid on the eve of an important vote. Another consequence of not breaking open the convention was support by the Democratic leadership for Rep. Ron Dellums' bill on South Africa, Rep. John Conyers' proposed legislation on same-day registration, and for District of Columbia statehood (worth two more good senators), improvement on government set-asides and legislation on children.

Jackson made the case eloquently, though it's also true to say that no one rose to make the case from the other point of

view. There are obvious questions of how much of a substantive Rainbow organization will survive Jackson's 1988 campaign, or would survive if Jackson were to go into permanent exile. The answer is to say that it's clearly too early to see how much building will be done or how interested Jackson really is in urging it along. One thing seemed far clearer than I had imagined it would: Jackson had absolutely no interest in anything other than the Democratic Party as the vehicle for any agenda he considers to be within the realms of practical consideration. Jackson is clear in his own mind that he truly can and will one day be president of the United States.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac

So what do progressives, leftists, left-liberals, radicals—take your ascription of choice—make of the world after Atlanta, as it tilts toward November and beyond? After Jackson's talk to his delegates I talked to a radical delegate who's been active in the Democratic Party, also in the Jackson campaign.

"I'm a career leftist from a white affluent background," she remarked, "and the notion of ever agreeing to serve with a bourgeois politician [i.e., Dukakis] feels like a defeat. I have extraordinary faith in Jesse, and in the nature of his movement. After the session I went for a long walk in a black working-class neighborhood, talking to people on the streets and in the stores. They were uniform in what they said: 'Jesse made us so proud of ourselves. We can't let George Bush be elected.' It reminded me of what the Cubans said when I was part of a group that went there in 1981: 'You American leftists are so sanguine about there being no real difference between Carter or Reagan. But we would rather send to Miami for something rather than wait six months to get it from Yugoslavia.' So here I am thinking that if I want to be part of a mass political movement led by black progres-

sives, I must accept that leadership. The major reformulation of power has to be led by people of color."

What she meant was that coalition with the Dukakis crowd had already entailed compromise. That moment, right before Bentsen spoke on Thursday night, when only a handful of delegates, mostly in the Vermont section, put up their Stop Contra Aid signs, could have been very different. When the Vermonters earlier handed out 2,000 such signs they were enthusiastically received by many delegates who later sat on them. Why? They sat on them because a well-respected member of Jackson's staff sent out word to the floor that they should. In other words, part of the deal made between Dukakis and Jackson was that there would be no perturbing demonstrations from the floor; in effect, no "street heat."

The argument justifying such a deal and compliance by the would-be demonstrators is being put like this: white New Left activists need to redraw their political maps. A radical agenda has been pressed by a movement with a mass base, said movement and mass base being led and largely inhabited by people of color. For such a base concessions demanded and bargains won from a Dukakis are not the intimations of co-optation but the tokens of survival.

First principle: protect your people. Same-day registration, as demanded in the Conyers bill, would change the face of American politics. Already the party structure is being changed and the platform along with it. A Dukakis victory in November would bring a share in power.

The riposte to this, no doubt being made to many a Jackson delegate back home from Atlanta and explaining what went on, is that historic compromises with power usually turn out to be historic co-options and the first thing power always asks is for the signs to come down. Ask the populists what happened when they met up with the Democratic Party. Those delegates should not have put away their No Contra Aid signs, whatever the Jackson camp asked them to do. The dilemma is not insoluble, and one only has to listen to Jackson's own dialectic about power and street heat. If Jackson, by his campaign, his oratory and his political skills, has provided the progressive wing with an exponent and a national presence undreamed of in years, then the progressive movement—in labor organizations, Central American activism, etc.—have provided Jackson important parts of his base. "I'm accountable to you," Jackson told his delegates Friday morning. "I work for you. I don't need another job. You can trust me behind closed doors." Trust is not particularly necessary, since the proof of the pudding will be there on the menu for all to read. If Jackson shows no signs of desire to foster structures—the National Rainbow Coalition, etc.—that will survive his campaign this year, then the trust will be commensurately diminished. The same thing is true in the relationship of Jackson and his forces to Dukakis and to power.

The first act of one of the Jackson appointments to the Democratic National Committee was to demand that Bentsen make a commitment to honor the party platform, not merely absent himself from Congress during the contra aid vote, but be present and vote against contra aid. Every Central American peace group can doubtless urge him to take this stand, or let the ticket take the consequences. This, presumably, is what street heat is all about. ■

Purple Hearts
Michael Callen

By Rex Wockner

A Purple Heart becomes "a cosmic kick in the ass"

MICHAEL CALLEN HAS HAD AIDS for six years. He'd really rather talk about his new record album, but it's difficult to keep journalists from asking, "So, how come you're still alive?"

Our schedules didn't allow us to talk until midnight one night very close to deadline. "So, how come you're still alive?" I ask.

"Luck, Classic Coke and the love of a good man," he says. "Now, can we talk about my music?"

He wasn't kidding about the Coke, even though he admits that "a strip of bacon left overnight in a glass of Coke will fry by morning." This "long-term AIDS survivor" drinks it anyway. Six years after his diagnosis, Callen has capped what he calls "the most creative and productive period" of his life with the release of his first solo album, *Purple Hearts*.

"In a strange way," Callen has written, "AIDS was the best thing that ever happened to me. It's been a cosmic kick in the ass—like going through 10 years of therapy overnight. Suddenly I was forced to deal with questions about...what I wanted to do with the rest of my life."

Callen's album has a "top" side and a "bottom" side. The top is fast, be-bop, rock-like music. The bottom is devoted to ballads in varying musical styles.

Strength in diversity: "I view the album as a celebration of being gay even in the age of AIDS," Callen says. "It's very consciously about our diversity. Our diversity is our strength and not our weakness. There's a jazz cut and there's a madrigal that's a *capella*. There's rock'n'roll, there's a sequenced cut, there's live-to-two-track, there are ballads. The general rule in the record industry is that they need to know which bin to put you in. Are you rock, pop, jazz? Well, my life isn't that way. I sing songs that I like. Some people won't like some parts of the album and that's fine with me. Take what you need and leave the rest."

In fact, Callen says, half of the album recently got "ripped to shit" in *The Advocate*. "The reviewer liked the top side but loathed the bottom side. He went on at great lengths—very bitch queen. He particularly loathed the Elton John song, so I'm glad you [this writer] liked it. A reviewer is, of course, entitled to not like something, but I really didn't see the need for him to be quite so bitchy about it," Callen said.

This writer pointed out that he might not be the best judge since he owns the new Barry Manilow compact disc. "I have Barry Manilow records in my collection, too," Callen added with no embarrassment whatsoever.

Purple Hearts "is not going to be

as widely distributed as a Barry Manilow record," Callen says, "but the discerning gay person who knows of its existence ought to be able to find it. It'll be in every lesbian and gay bookstore that sells records."

Living in wartime: Callen was a founding member of the People With AIDS Coalition New York and a founding member of the National As-

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sociation of People With AIDS. His AIDS activism has been a major influence on his music. The song "Living in Wartime" was used in the Public Theater's long-running production of Larry Kramer's *The Normal Heart*. "Healing Power of Love" has become known as the People With AIDS anthem. And "Love Don't Need a Reason"—co-written with Marsha Malamet and Peter Allen—became the theme song of the AIDS benefit "Walkathons" in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Callen says he was feeling "especially mortal" when he began work on *Purple Hearts*. "I'd just gotten over a bout of pneumonia," he recalls, "and I was scared. I was thinking if I died tomorrow I'd leave behind a pile of AIDS articles, but no record of my music, which is for me—because it reaches people emotion-

ally—just as important as my political work."

Callen's long-term survivor status is not as rare as one might think. Fifteen percent of people with AIDS in New York, he says, have been living with AIDS for more than three years. Apart from luck, Coke and a good man, Callen will admit to a few secrets.

He says, for example, that "you could not pay [him] to take AZT." "I am," he said, "on AL-721. I'm a founding member of the first PWA [person with AIDS] buyer's club in the U.S., and we distribute a ton of lipids [AL-721] a month. We also distribute dextran sulfate and the German enzymes Woby Mugs 21 and 22. I'm on those, too. I'm also on high dose acyclovir because they think I have lymphoma. I'm on aerosol pentamidine. I'm a huge believer in prophylaxis and have spent a great deal of time and energy trying to spread that gospel."

Callen is working on a book about 25 other long-term survivors of AIDS. "I found some patterns," he says, "but for every pattern, there was somebody that was an exception. Everybody was very frisky. They were all actively involved in a healthy partnership, making decisions in consultation with their doctors. The majority of them had or-

dered a health care professional out of their hospital room at some point for failing to explain a procedure, or failing to take their concerns of symptoms seriously.

"All 25 of them," Callen says, "were politically involved in the struggle against AIDS. Only one of them was taking AZT."

Doctoring reality: Choosing the right doctor, Callen thinks, is crucial. He credits his GP—Joseph Sonnabend—with saving his life. "Doctors are like stereo equipment," he said. "They'll all play your records, but it's what your ears like. You have to just search until you find somebody who shares your worldview. It's chemical."

"We [Sonnabend and I] have had

"The general rule in the record industry," says musician Michael Callen, "is that they need to know which bin to put you in. Are you rock, pop, jazz? Well, my life isn't that way."

a very tortured relationship," he added. "We're both founding members of the Community Research Initiative [a project that puts promising AIDS drugs directly into the hands of AIDS doctors and their patients for scientific testing—a major end-run around the medical establishment]. We co-wrote the booklet "How to Have Sex in an Epidemic" in 1983. We have a doctor-patient relationship, we have a friend relationship, we have a political relationship. It's very complicated. He is the most brilliant person I've ever met. He is completely eccentric. He thrives on chaos. But the bottom line is that he and I both believe our lives are worth the best science conducted by the highest standards of classic scientific inquiry. And we do not believe that's what we're getting in AIDS."

Yet Callen is not prone to let any doctor—including Sonnabend—call all the shots. He regularly refuses to take medical tests, and ignores results of tests that are run. "I stopped asking for the results of my T-cell tests a long time ago," he said. "My T-cells have always been inversely related to how I feel. If I bop in feeling full of piss and vinegar, the T-cells will be like 27. In the middle of the flu, when I was dragging my ass around, I go in for a blood tests and my T-cells are 100. I learned a long time ago to ignore them."

Callen's lack of blind faith in medicine extends to other "cure-alls" that some PWAs have embraced as well. He has no interest in the "new age" craze sweeping the PWA community. "You will be hard-pressed," he says, "to find someone less new-agey than me. I have seen people whose lives have been affected tremendously by Louise Hay and Sally Fisher and all that, but new age stuff is not for me."

For the future Callen plans to continue making albums. "But I can't say that too loudly," he says, "or my boyfriend will come and push me out the window. I mean we were up to our tits in the business of this album. Significant Other records is him and me. I'm sitting here staring at a pile of correspondence that has to be answered. He and I package all the albums. We have a very unique and wonderful partnership."

In the end, Callen thinks he is perhaps simply imbued with an unstoppable will to live. "The preciousness and exhilaration of living overwhelm," he says. "The hysterical *joie de vivre* of Julia Child cooking videos, my cookie cutter collection, the imminent release of Streisand's next album and the secure sensation of my lover coming to bed sometimes make me want to weep with joy. I should miss them so if I died."

Cassettes and LPs are available for \$10 from Significant Other Records, Box 1545, Canal Street Station, NYC 10013.

Rex Wockner is a Chicago freelance writer.



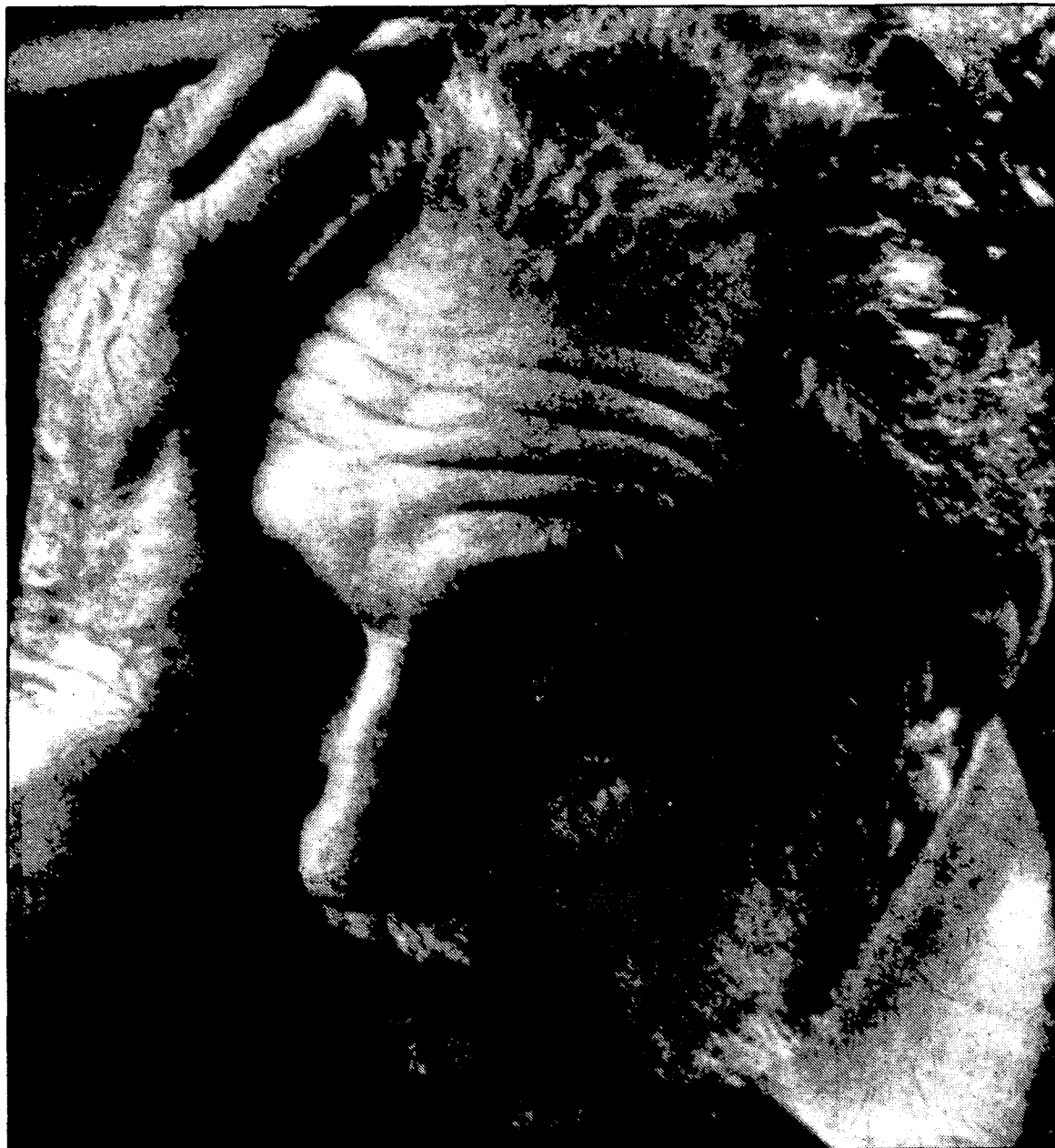
Joel Saka/ny

The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism and the Myths of Ezra Pound

By Robert Casillo
Northwestern University Press,
463 pp., \$34.95

By William E. Cain

A poetic Pound of flesh and a ton of anti-Semitism



Ezra Pound: A repellant personality that fastens upon barbarous ideas does not lead us toward beauty.

HERE ARE SOME OF THE TERMS that Ezra Pound applied to Jews during his radio broadcasts for the Axis Powers during World War II: rats, bed bugs, vermin, worms and lice. He also depicted them as "slime," as "odorous swindlers" and members of an "oily race." According to his diagnosis they were "disease incarnate," "carriers of syphilis" and "plague."

The rootless, usurious Jews, Pound declared, had long stood "against every race in Europe that takes the responsibility for being a nation," and they have sickeningly worked to "rot" every nation they have "wormed into." Civilization now faced a momentous choice, Pound warned, "between Europe and Jewry," and he resolutely called for a "purge," a program of "racial survival," a "racial solution."

As Robert Casillo demonstrates in his disturbing painstakingly detailed book, these staggeringly reprehensible statements do not represent sad delusions at the edges of Pound's life and thought. Rather, they give an especially grotesque form to the anti-Semitic and fascist ideology that pervades his work from beginning to end. *The Genealogy of Demons* thus takes sharply focused aim at the central issue that Pound's devotees have reluctantly acknowledged but neglected to probe: the hatred of Jews and worship of fascism that saturate this poet/critic's art.

So often the occasion for celebratory explication, Pound's *Cantos* are, Casillo contends, "demonstrably fascist," a collection of poems "whose real meaning cannot be grasped without reference to its fascism." In the case of Pound, says Casillo with admirable directness, we have an exorbitantly revered writer whose "ideas and values figure unmistakably within that wide current of proto-fascist and fascist thought which culminates at Auschwitz and Buchenwald."

A racist modernism: Casillo addresses the entire span of Pound's theories of culture and society, especially as these play themselves out in the *Cantos*. He describes the backgrounds and sources for Pound's anti-Semitism, noting, for example, Pound's indebtedness to the religious and racial speculations of Thaddeus Zielinski and Leo Frobenius, and proceeds to show the resemblances between Pound's rendering of anti-Semitic doctrine and the version that the Nazi propagandist Alfred Rosenberg luridly outlined.

Casillo also examines, in great

depth and with a formidable range of reference, Pound's perceptions of Mussolini and Hitler, his vision of an economic crisis triggered by Jews, and his effort to locate salvation in the corporate state that the Fascists had launched in Italy. Casillo observes that Pound saw in fascism:

...a modern version of the corporate, hierarchical, paternalistic, and pre-capitalistic Middle Ages. Through fascism Europe would return to something resembling those days when each estate recognized its proper place and function; church and state constituted a benevolent and all-encompassing authority; money had not yet replaced land as a measure of wealth; social morality and tradition enforced the just price; labor, not yet alienated by industrialization, was organized into regulated guilds; a mystic bond united aristocrats and peasants; and every social right or privilege was balanced by social obligations.

It was the divisive and money-hungry Jews, trafficking in liberalism, socialism and communism, who had dirtied and fragmented the organic society, Pound

irately asserted. As he remarked in *Guide to Kulchur*, they were the "one enemy" whose essential traits led them to sow disorder in the Gentile world and reap the rewards of the

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social, cultural and economic havoc they created. In these conclusions, angrily amplified in his radio broadcasts, Pound is in agreement, as he put it, with the "findings" of "Duce and Fuhrer," the "two real detectives" who had solved the "crime" of usury.

Casillo rightly identifies the peculiarly personal sources for Pound's crazed interest and, eventually, immersion in fascism, notably his rage at England and America for failing to heed his appeal for cultural revolution, and his horrified response to World War I, in which the Imagist poet-critic T.E. Hulme and the promising artist Henri Gaudier-Brzeska had been killed.

Anti-Semitic stands: But Casillo also recognizes that one cannot merely attribute Pound's scapegoating of the Jews to the disappointed,

indignant turns of his own temperament. Pound invoked and drew upon traditions of both Enlightenment and Orientalist Jew-hatred, and he embraced monstrous ideas that a host of fascist and Nazi theorists and leaders promoted and practiced. Casillo does tender here an important, if awful, distinction: "Pound's anti-Semitism has its closest affinity not with Voltaire and Nietzsche but with Rosenberg and Hitler."

The Genealogy of Demons may fare badly in academic journals because Pound scholars who will review it have invested much in their

In a new book, Robert Casillo contends that the real meaning of Ezra Pound's work "Cannot be grasped without reference to its fascism."

subject and will not like finding so many of their ingrained notions rebutted and assailed. Casillo makes clear that Pound was a rabid anti-Semite and fascist, and he emphasizes that, contrary to general opinion, Pound did not repent during or after his imprisonment at Pisa by the U.S. Army in 1945 and 13-year confinement at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C.

"The *Cantos* early and late," Casillo insists, "refer favorably to Mussolini's and Hitler's policies," and Pound's post-war poetry and correspondence provide "abundant proof" of his continued fidelity to anti-Semitic mythology. His language is not as graphically violent and hateful as it had been in the radio broadcasts, but his attitudes remain basically the same, expressed in allusive, veiled, displaced and metaphorical forms.

The Genealogy of Demons shows convincingly the massive scale of Pound's terrible bond to fascist and Nazi beliefs. No longer will it be possible to regard this feature of Pound's thought as marginal or as somehow marvelously transmuted and transcended by the craftsmanship displaced in his verse. Casillo exhaustively proves that the poetry could not exist without the repugnant creed that drives it and that motivates Pound's stylistic and structural choices.

A curious closing: What, then, are we to conclude about the poetry? And about the account of modernism within which it regularly (and triumphantly) figures? On these key questions, Casillo is disappointingly unhelpful, and this is his book's one grave defect. Indeed, in his closing pages Casillo strangely echoes the very adulatory terms that his argument challenges.

He refers to "the extraordinary richness and sometimes unsurpassed beauty" of Pound's writing, "the poetic beauty" and fascinating verbal texture of the *Cantos* and the large "spirit and perspective" that propels the verse beyond (and that undercuts) the "narrow ideology" it defines. Casillo nowhere demonstrates where this "beauty" resides. Though he is intent upon exposing the thin apologetics of earlier critics, he voices here the standard pious commonplaces.

If Casillo is correct in his judgment that Pound's cultural enterprise, monumentalized in the *Cantos*, "is joined indivisibly to fascism and anti-Semitism" and "hints covertly at the extermination of the Jews," then how can he give his allegiance any longer to solemn praise for this writer's beauty of expression? The real achievement of *The Genealogy of Demons* is that it alerts us unmistakably to the emptiness of such terms of praise. A repellent personality that fastens upon barbarous ideas does not lead us toward beauty. ■

William E. Cain is director of American studies at Wellesley College.

Shifting Landscape

By Henry Roth
The Jewish Publication Society
331 pp., \$19.95

By Harvey Pekar

MANY LITERARY SCHOLARS consider Henry Roth untouchable. Roth's only novel, *Call It Sleep*, published in 1934, forgotten, revived in the early '60s, has justly become regarded as a masterpiece. Drawing from a variety of sources, most obviously James Joyce, Roth might have established a reputation comparable to William Faulkner's. As it is, many authorities consider *Call It Sleep*, based on Roth's childhood experiences in New York around 1910-15, the greatest novel written by an American Jew. But he quit writing.

We'll never know whether he would have done anything better than *Call It Sleep*, but it was no flash-in-the-pan by a one-idea author. The sure-footed grace and lyricism of Roth's prose, his wide range of interests, great powers of observation and description, precision of language and willingness to experiment guaranteed that any work by him would have substantial merit.

Roth abandoned his literary career completely in 1940 and published nothing until 1954 when, having become a Maine waterfowl farmer, he contributed "Equipment for Pennies" to *The Magazine for Ducks and Geese*. A few more articles and stories followed, up to the middle '60s, when *Call It Sleep* became a commercial as well as critical success.

Of poultry and the Party: Roth had joined the Communist Party in 1933 and remained an ardent and uncritical supporter of the Soviet Union until 1966. Then he rediscovered his Jewish roots. Israel's victory in the Six-Day War and nationalistic pride thrilled and inspired him to write more, though he still published infrequently.

Roth's literary inactivity has proved intriguing, made him something of a legend. Here's a great author who hasn't written anything for decades. Why? Why is he a chicken farmer?

Some of the answers are provided in *Shifting Landscape*, a collection of Roth's writing issued late last year by the Jewish Publication Society, which contains everything he's published except *Call It Sleep*, together with his comments on the individual selections. Arranged chronologically, they outline Roth's biography and allow us to follow his literary and philosophical evolution.

Shifting Landscape's publication was understandably treated as a happy occasion by critics and journalists, who praised *Call It Sleep* and traced Roth's long and difficult journey from the '30s to the present. Little attention was paid, however, to the quality and nature of the new book's contents. Because Roth objects to being viewed as a "holy relic" and remains a technically proficient,



1988 Peter Hanman

Poultry readings and the gripes of Roth

intellectually sharp writer, his more recent work deserves close scrutiny, not the kindly condescension it's received.

His literary career had a strange beginning: as a student he became involved with New York University professor Eda Lou Walton, 12 years his senior, and lived with her for a decade. Walton, his lover-patron, introduced Roth to the work of his main influences, Joyce and T.S. Eliot. The earliest selection in *Shifting Landscape*, "Impressions of a Plumber," is a student effort in which Roth discusses a plumber's helper job he'd held, describing with precision and clarity the nature of his work. Getting the details right has always mattered to Roth regardless of his occupation.

Socialist unrealism: Prior to the publication of *Call It Sleep*, Roth started another novel. He'd recently joined the Communist Party and decided to write a proletarian novel based on the life of a second-generation German-American worker from Cincinnati, but couldn't complete it. The work seemed alien to him. He could not reconcile his modernism, i.e., his use of stream-of-consciousness technique and affinity for subtlety, introspection and subjective portrayal, with the demands of the party for socialist realism.

Roth eventually destroyed what he'd written of this novel, but not before a portion of it was printed in a small magazine. He's highly critical of the published fragment here, calling it "too rich," "stilted," "precious." What survives, however, is good naturalist writing. Roth probably feels uncomfortable reading the Appalachian dialogue of his characters, a bit too picturesque to be believa-

ble, but no disaster.

Roth's blind attachment to Stalinism is apparent in his disgraceful 1937 article, "Where My Sympathy Lies," which contains a defense of the Moscow purge trials and an attack on Trotskyists. He's ashamed of having written it now, but doesn't appear to have changed as radically as he believes; the slavish devotion he once gave to Stalin's USSR has now been transferred to Likud-run Israel.

During 1939-40 Roth published three stories in the *New Yorker* and *Coronet*. Of these, "Broker," reminiscent of Stephen Crane's "Travels in New York—the Broken Down Van," merits attention. A vignette about the predicament of a black man whose truck gets stuck under a Manhattan bridge, causing a traffic jam and bringing the cops down on his neck, it is beautifully observed. Judging from Roth's comments, he probably doesn't think much of "Broker,"

Here's a great author who hasn't written anything in decades. Why? Why is he a chicken farmer?

probably because it's not portentous enough. Though not consciously making a big statement, however, he says a lot about the human condition and does so with humor—a rare and welcome quality in his work.

And then: nothing until "Equipment for Pennies."

During the early '60s Roth re-

mained a supporter of the USSR and unfavorably disposed toward Israel. He said in a 1963 *Midstream* statement, "...I feel that to the great boons Jews have already conferred upon humanity, Jews in America might add this last and greatest one: of orienting themselves toward ceasing to be Jews."

Toward a new style: By 1966, though, Roth's attitude was changing. He published a piece called "The Surveyor" in the *New Yorker* about a retired American Jew, Stigman,

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looking around Seville for a location to place a wreath. Because of his surveying equipment, he's noticed and questioned by a policeman. Stigman refuses to divulge his purpose and is brought to the police station where state attorney Ortega can't get him to talk but quickly deduces that he's looking for the spot where Inquisition victims were executed. How does Ortega know? Because it happens that he's a descendent of Marranos. The two men have a drink later and Stigman's wife offers a toast, "L'chaim."

"The Surveyor," one of Roth's longer works, is smoothly structured but stylistically conservative and contrived; Roth confuses pretentiousness with profundity.

"Final Dwarf," worked on by Roth sporadically through the '60s, focuses on his poisonous relationship with his aged father during a trip to a small town shopping center. As in *Call It Sleep*, the father is shown to be cruel and intolerant (the elder Roth's reaction to *Call It Sleep* reportedly was, "I shouldn't have beat him so much"). An insightful, unsentimental piece, "Final Dwarf" remains stylistically anonymous.

After the Six-Day War, however, Roth began writing with increased zeal and worked to develop a new style. One of the most revealing statements he's made is "...the individual per se disintegrates unless he associates with an institution of some sort, with a larger entity. I could not find that kind of bond in religion.... I found it in the existence of a nation [Israel]."

But many individuals do well without connection to a nation, large institution, or philosophy, e.g., those whose attachment to family makes life significant. Roth, however, has a "true believer" mentality. Once it was Stalin, currently it's Israel. "Israel is my chief concern now," he states, "and any work of literary merit that I can achieve would be in her behalf, to muster sympathy and support for her survival and security."

There are various political factions in Israel, all of which believe they represent the nation's best interests. Roth seems to be on the side of the Israeli right; at any rate he will not challenge it. "Oh," he writes, "I know the question that will be asked: What are we doing in Lebanon? What about the claims of the PLO to be an independent state? What about

Israel? Her security, her existence. Who is going to ride above this battle.... That sort of detachment spells paralysis...." That is, shoot first and ask questions later.

But what about Lebanon? Israel's invasions of Lebanon did not bring about more security; instead it wasted Jewish lives and Arab lives and made the Middle East more dangerous than ever.

A conscious stream: Roth is now working on a long work, *Mercy of a Rude Stream*, called by him a memoir-novel, which he wants to be published posthumously. This autobiographical project, covering 1914 to 1939, will contain everything from fictionalized autobiography to journal excerpts and polemics. One excerpt, "Weekends in New York," employs material from a 1939 diary in which he writes compellingly about sidewalk preachers and a Friday night family meal. As it and other selections from the latter portion of *Shifting Landscape* indicate, he's again writing richly poetic prose. But interrupting this narrative flow are italicized contemporary flash-forward passages in which Roth castigates James Joyce for not having been involved with the Irish revolution and flagellates himself for his previous opposition to Israel. Apparently he wants everyone to be a fervent nationalist.

Roth refused to accept socialist realism in the '30s, but now he appears to have evolved a similar philosophy in attempting to "muster sympathy and support" for the Israeli right. There is plenty of talk in the essays, memoirs and commentary here about how Jews have suffered, but no acknowledgement of their persecution of Arabs, no concern shown that Israel, originally conceived as a Jewish state, has become a bi-national state with Jewish rulers and an Arab underclass.

Many might want to attribute Roth's views to the eccentricity of old age, but as a young man he was similarly oblivious to the evils of Stalinism.

Roth's opinions are terribly unfortunate, politically unsound and almost hypocritical: he blasts Saul Bellow for preferring life in the U.S. to Israel, while himself residing in Albuquerque. They also mar his literary efforts. When he wrote *Call It Sleep*, Roth had, by his own admission, an art-for-art's sake, "apolitical, a-economic" attitude. Now he violently rejects his previous lack of partisanship and has become a more didactic writer. O.K., but didactic writers must do more than repeatedly proclaim their loyalty and love for Israel. There are too many statements of this kind in *Shifting Landscape*, so many that perhaps he has purged himself of them. *Mercy of a Rude Stream* promises to be a substantive effort, an unusual synthetic work. Hopefully, Roth won't load it up too much with nationalistic rhapsodizing. ■

Harvey Pekar is author of *American Splendor* and *More American Splendor*.

Deep Dish

Continued from page 24

Still, organizers have plenty of headaches as they carve out a niche for unorthodox video both on viewers' TV screens and in their minds. Many coordinators noted that it's hard to get other understaffed, underfunded groups to put aside time and interest for media, even when it's about "their issue."

In part, this can be seen as a general symptom of a Balkanized left, and in part evidence of a longstanding resistance to building media into political agendas. Media producers who developed projects without a clear idea of how they might function in an organizing context have only fostered the tendency.

"The left has been reticent over the years about television," says Veda Reilly, an access veteran working on Deep Dish outreach in the Boston area. "And I think many people may still be lukewarm about the idea of grass-roots TV. But I find you can get people interested in an issue, rather than in the notion of the network."

The world isn't watching: It can be hard even to find out if anyone's out there. Wade Britzius, co-producer of the segment on the farm crisis and director of an access center in rural Wisconsin "where there are more cows than people," has been disappointed about a virtual lack of feedback about the show after its debut, particularly from its target audience of urban viewers.

Cable companies have not always been cooperative. Some have refused to let their facilities be used to pick up the signal, leav-

ing Deep Dishers to send tapes through the mail or depend on the kindness of home dish owners.

In some cases, programmers have found the programming hotly controversial. The AIDS segment has drawn the ire of viewers, mostly because of one scene of frontal male nudity (in an excerpt from a safe-sex documentary tape). In Wisconsin, management representatives protested that the labor show was inflammatory, because one of the segments concerned a labor-management conflict in the area.

Such incidents could fuel a current debate in public access triggered by the Klan's *Race and Reason* interview program. In the wake of the cable system's refusal to run the program in Kansas City, Mo., the city may revise its franchise agreement to give the cable company more editorial control over public access. Such a decision could sharply cut into the basic premise of public access, and could also run into First Amendment challenges.

Some cable programmers have been both supportive and critical. KMVL, an Iowa cable station with 800 subscribers, used the series. "I liked the idea that it wasn't done by a network, that it touched on current issues," said KMVL's Dean Traver. "But it can go a little far out. Some of the sections look almost like music videos. I think that on controversial issues people want facts and figures. You should be able to watch it and get the message, and I think a lot of older people won't get the message."

Bedevilling the best intentions of Deep Dishers is the chronic underfunding of such

alternative media efforts. Davitian spells out the effects: "Overworked staff, not enough time to organize volunteers, not enough time to get feedback. But we hope we'll be able to inspire other people to use it as an organizing tool. We can only take a tiny step at a time."

"Progress is slow without funds, and it takes work," says Elliot Margolies, program director for a public access channel 50 miles south of San Francisco. "Satellite isn't meant to stand alone as a delivery system, and we do want to put more energy into networking and infrastructure. Access is a long-term proposition."

Progress may be slow, but it's in a certain direction. Despite the "Fearless TV!" banner carried by Deep Dishers, public access cable is not the vanguard of a transformation toward participatory television for and of the broad American public. In fact, it's barely a blip on the average cable viewer's video landscape. It's much more than that, however, on the landscape of small-group use of video. Where it is proving useful is in fostering communication among groups of people who are already organized. As Deep Dish's second year shows, with its emphasis on outreach and constituency building, participatory TV works where there's organized participation. ■

To get the schedule or to urge that Deep Dish network programs be shown (or rerun) in your area, call the local cable system. To contact Deep Dish: Deep Dish Satellite Network, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 420-9045.

Dukakis

Continued from page 6

"laboratories of democracy" are valuable: with local government and "third sector" action, the money could be better spent, stimulating new economic activity, strengthening communities and mobilizing private capital for social goals.

Likewise the neo-progressive inclination to "reshape the market" represents an important lesson. But it could be taken much further than Osborne suggests or his governor-models have done. For example, there is no reason to simply accept flight of manufacturing jobs overseas as a given. Osborne dismisses the new populism as a politically unproductive effort to "punish" big business. But big business still dominates the U.S. economy, and its failings take a terrible toll. Why not "reshape" the corporations as well as the market?

Osborne concludes that promotion of new business is the key economic policy, although modernization of older businesses gets attention. But Osborne gives virtually no attention

to innovative efforts to fight plant closings (see *In These Times*, May 11), such as the Steel Valley Authority in the Pittsburgh area. These battles have blocked unnecessary closings and have helped rejuvenate old industries. The important shift toward reshaping the market has to be complemented by broader reforms in the behavior of private business. It is not enough to stimulate new business. Indeed, as MIT researcher Charles Ferguson argued in the May-June *Harvard Business Review*, the fabled microelectronics industry, source of the Silicon Valley fantasies of local development officials, may be plagued by "chronic entrepreneurialism" that is leading to the industry's demise at the hands of Japanese competition.

Osborne buys the common view that liberals since the '60s have failed by creating too many government programs to solve problems. But the Democrats' economic and political problems of recent decades stem more from shifting burdens from corporations and the rich to the middle class, failing to make corporations deliver for the national good and

dividing the poor—often seen wrongly as mainly black—from the broad working class.

Where the neo-progressives fail: Thomas Edsall, in *The New Politics of Inequality*, showed how the post-Watergate Democrats' shift away from the party's blue-collar and poor base doomed the party politically. The neo-progressive governors are out of this same post-Watergate mold and, as Osborne notes of Dukakis, have middle-class bases. Like the earlier Progressives, they are technocrats. They show independence from traditional politics mainly by fighting with labor unions while catering to business. Whatever the many failings of unions, this is hardly a winning and virtuous road for the Democrats to take.

In many cases these governors were making the best out of adversity and their limited powers. In the process they discovered new ways government can act flexibly and effectively. They tried, but without the powers a President Dukakis would have, to reshape the market and make private investment serve some social goals. □

Bentsen

Continued from page 7

bringing his total for the last year and a half to more than \$6 million, which is more than any other senator has raised.

People in business give to Bentsen because he heads the tax-writing Finance Committee, but also because they know, to use Bob Dole's phrase, "he's one of us." There is no question Dukakis scored with the business community by his selection of Bentsen. As Texas financier and longtime power broker Calvin Guest commented at the Democratic convention, the Bentsen pick sent "a very definite message to the business community," namely, "we're gonna have a

moderate government when we win in November."

...the more they stay the same: Meanwhile, there has been little backlash to the Bentsen nomination, least of all in progressive circles in his home state. Jim Hightower, the popular commissioner of agriculture who is the new Ralph Yarborough of state politics, told reporters recently that his feelings for Bentsen are "nothin' but warm." Though as an editor of the *Texas Observer* in 1976 Hightower had refused to endorse Bentsen for re-election, Hightower said he had since come to admire Bentsen. Part of the reason is that when Hightower himself was running for office in 1982, Bentsen sank a good deal of money into a get-out-the-vote

campaign that swept Hightower and other progressives (such as State Treasurer Ann Richards) into office.

This year, Hightower, along with Jesse Jackson, was pushing the Democratic Party to expand its ranks and to address head-on the concentration of wealth that eight years of Republicanism has engendered. In choosing Bentsen Dukakis took the party in the opposite direction. The Hightower and Jackson progressives have agreed to go along peaceably for the sake of the election, but the real struggle will come if a new Democratic administration takes power.

There is little mystery about what role Lloyd Bentsen would play in forming the administration's economic policies. As High-

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DETROIT

August 4

The 7th Annual Eugene V. Debs Memorial Kazoo Night will be held Thursday night, Aug. 4, in the upper deck center field bleachers, Tiger Stadium. Eugene V. Debs, union leader and socialist, is commemorated by these kazoo nights annually. In addition to hundreds of Detroiters, fans are travelling from places such as Boston, New York, Chicago, Columbus, Denver and even England to participate in the event. Following the ball game will be the 7th Annual Debutant Party (named for Debs and former U.N. Secretary General U. Thant). Once again, this year's festivities are organized by Detroit labor attorneys Scott Brooks and Jeff Ellison. Well-loved concert-master Reuben Stein will be back to lead the crowds in rousing kazoo choruses celebrating the life of a working-class hero. For more information contact Scott and Jeff, (313) 964-5600.

WASHINGTON, DC

August 5

International Test Ban Day. The International Test Ban Campaign will coordinate local, national and international events to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty and to call for a comprehensive test ban treaty. Contact: Carolyn Cottom, ITBC, 711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.

WALLED LAKE, MI

August 7-8

Williams International Peace Action Coalition is calling for a rally at Williams International, designer and maker of cruise missile engines, on Sunday, Aug. 7, from 2 to 5 p.m. The coalition will provide nonviolence training (required) prior to civil resistance the morning of Aug. 8. Williams cruise missile engines are scheduled to replace the weapons dismantled under the INF treaty. Contact: WIPAC, P.O. Box 6245, East Lansing, MI 48826.

SANDWICH, CAPE COD

August 24-28

The Union for Radical Political Economics presents its 1988 summer conference, "Radical Economics in 1988: Challenges to Power and Policies." Join us for the annual gathering at a beautiful Cape Cod site. This year's conference will feature Teresa Amott, Lourdes Beneria, Nancy Folbre, Russell Jacoby, Rhonda Williams, Robert Kuttner, Arthur MacEwan, Anwar Shaikh, Howard Wachtel, Tom Weisskopf and others on a variety of panels, workshops and political economy classes. Themes of the classes include Value Theory, Political Economy of Class and Gender, Development Economics, and Introduction to Political Economy. Cultural and recreational activities and child care included. For details write URPE, 122 West 27th St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10001, or call (212) 691-5722. Submissions for workshops on all political economy issues are still being accepted.

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November 3-12

Attend 6th Annual North America-Nicaragua Health Colloquium, November 3-12, Managua, Nicaragua. Unique opportunity for technical and personal exchange with wide range of Nicaraguan health workers. Includes teaching, fact-finding, tours. Contact: CHRICA, 347 Dolores #210, San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 431-7760. A member of the National Central American Health Rights Network.

tower put it in 1976, declining to endorse either Bentsen or the Republican congressman who was challenging him, "Neither has done much of note for farmers or small businessmen. Both parrot the line of big oil on energy issues. Both are defenders of wasteful military spending. Both have foreign policy views more suited to 1956 than 1976, and neither has a programmatic concept of economic democracy."

Alas, despite the winds of politics, still true. Still true. □

Dave Denison is editor of *The Texas Observer*.

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LOBBYIST for Washington, D.C., national consumer organization. \$20-26,000 plus benefits. One-year legislative experience, excellent writing and analytical skills required. Call Debbie ASAP, (202) 347-9600.

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C L A S S I F I E D S

intervention in El Salvador and building support for the people of El Salvador. Please send resume to CISPES, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, DC 20005. Or call (202) 265-0890.

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GROENING

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|---|--|---|--|---|--|
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| WONDER MOM PANCAKES COMIN' RIGHT UP!! <small>SEE "MARTYR MOM"</small> | WORKING MOM HERE'S YOUR KEY! DON'T OPEN THE DOOR! DINNER'S IN THE FRIDGE! HAVE FUN! BYE! | DEPRESSED MOM SNIFFLE: GOO | PLASTIC MOM LET'S ALL BE NICE AND PRETEND WE'RE HAPPY. | | |
| PSYCHO MOM I'M EITHER GOING TO KILL YOU OR KILL YOUR PILLS? | GONE MOM (Empty space) | ALCOHOLIC MOM I WOULDN'T BE DRINKIN' IF YOU DIDN'T UPSET ME SO MUCH. | MARTYR MOM WHAT ELSE CAN I DO FOR YOU? | | |

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TREE SPACES

By Pat Aufderheide

PARTICIPATORY TV! EMPOWERMENT THROUGH media! People-to-people video! The rhetoric of public access cable is heady. The results, so far, have been less than earthshaking. The Deep Dish TV project, now in its second year, is trying to bridge that gap between rhetoric and reality.

Public access cable is available wherever savvy municipal bargainers and citizens' committees demanded it when the cable franchise was written. Today more than 700 public access channels exist (that is, fewer than one in 10 systems carries one). At best—and that's a rarity—a cable company provides a channel, studio, equipment and budget for citizens to produce their own programming, promote it and air it. Many systems grudgingly provide the channel space without adequate facilities.

No one's into public access cable for the money. But a lot of people are using it, to judge by the thousands of hours of programming produced each week, ranging from school plays and sports to local talk shows and independent documentaries. The key to programming has always been the word "local," although some work has circulated nationally. Nationally seen programs include, from one end of the ideological spectrum, the punchy media critiques of Paper Tiger TV and, from the other end, the *Race and Reason* program produced by the Ku Klux Klan.

Video snacks: Now some of the same people who produce Paper Tiger, along with public access enthusiasts nationwide, are attempting to share the localism while exploiting the advantages of technology. The result, Deep Dish TV, provides compilation tapes—usually around an hour long—showcasing public access-produced work on an issue or a theme. Reflecting the perspective of Deep Dish coordinators and many producers for cable access, the selection leans to the left.

The Deep Dish shows are beamed up to a satellite on Tuesday afternoons, and can be pulled down by anyone with a dish, whether at a cable system or in a back yard. Viewers are encouraged to make copies of the uncopyrighted tapes, which—in the underfunded tradition of public access—make no payment to producers whose work is excerpted.

Since last year's debut, Deep Dish has become more decentralized and more ambitious. This season 18 weeks of shows are scheduled for the series that runs throughout the summer. And at season's end, Deep Dish plans to continue as a network, provid-

ing regular weekly public-access collations.

This season's offerings include five hours of the Fourth International Women's Day Video Festival. Other shows feature labor, the farm crisis, Latino images, political humor, AIDS, militarism and the Central American crisis. Each show has different coordinators from throughout North America, which leads to a variety of editing styles—some more successful than others.

For instance, "Is This Working? Labor in the '80s," produced by the Chicago-based Committee for Labor Access, uses long takes from various labor union-produced and independent productions and provides straightforward transitions with titles. "The Border: Where Do You Draw the Line?" by independent producers Dee Dee Hallack and Dan Martin connects loosely related material around the concept "boundary" with rapid cuts and brief visual cues for transition. The tone of "Angry Initiatives/Defiant Strategies," produced by video artist John Greyson, partakes of the witty, ironic and poignant work it excerpts, all addressing confusions and distortions on the subject of AIDS.

Bob Hercules

Who's watching? Tim Wright, a coordinator for cable access nonprofit Boston Neighborhood Network, recalls a viewer saying to him, that "it's as if all these people are unconsciously collaborating with each other, and they don't know it until the Deep Dish stuff is edited."

It's one thing to edit that unconscious collaboration, and another to find the audience for it. "The real challenge," says Chittenden Community Television access coordinator Lauren-Glenn Davitian, "is in how to use this video as an organizing tool. You're so busy producing that you don't have the time to be an organizer. But if you don't have a constituency—if you don't know who's watching you—you have to ask yourself why we're doing this."

Davitian isn't talking about numbers. The numbers for public access—always a guess, since no ratings service covers it—are typically very low. Public access cable is about narrowcasting, not volume. "The point is not how many people watch," she says, "but are the people who need this material watching?"

In its first year, Deep Dish coordinators focused more on the challenge of getting access channels than on outreach and constituency building. This year, with reception more secure, emphasis has shifted to audience-building.

Unions were important contributors to the labor segment, and union locals got the word out to members about viewing times, says video producer Bob Hercules, who helped coordinate this year's labor issues segment for Deep Dish. But for him the cablecast is only the beginning of the story.

"The greatest success is being able to show it with a bunch of people, to get beyond the one-way nature of TV," he says. "We're doing public screenings at union halls." Hercules finds that many labor groups like the home-made look of Deep Dish tapes "because it doesn't look like network TV. They know the tapes are being made by someone." One union that plans to use the service is the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, who propose to use the Deep Dish network to run a videotape arguing the broadly social merits of upcoming trade legislation.

Other targeted constituencies have also used Deep Dish. In New York an AIDS "direct action" organization, ACT UP, led a lively talk show discussion after the tape ran in Manhattan. A drug education group working in the city is using the AIDS tape to educate drug users on hygiene and safe sex, while a pro-Sandinista group organized a call-in follow-up show for the Central American program. In New Jersey, the National Housing Institute has organized viewing parties for the tape on housing and tenants' rights. Near San Francisco, the Mid-Peninsula Peace Center made the tape part of its library and alerted its membership to the cablecasting dates.

"Biting The Hand that Leads Us," on political satire, has been used in college classes and discussion groups, both for its performances and its demonstration of grass-roots video. "I think it's generated more enthusiasm among theater groups for documenting their own work," says Jesse Drew. "I don't think many of the groups had even considered recording their performances before, partly because there would have been no outlet for the product."